

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

AT THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL
SESSION HELD IN ATLANTIC CITY
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FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee presents to the membership of the National Conference of Social Work a volume containing the proceedings of the meeting of 1936. On the Editorial Committee this year were Maude Barrett, New Orleans; Paul Benjamin, Buffalo; A. W. McMillen, Chicago; and, ex officio, the Very Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York, president of the 1936 Conference, and Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*. Mr. Russell Kurtz, New York, served on the Committee this year in the place of Mr. McMillen who was unable to be present.

The publication of the *Proceedings* imposes upon the Editorial Committee the task of selection, with the condensing or abridging of some of the material presented. It should, however, be made clear that the publication of a manuscript does not imply that the views set forth have been indorsed either by the Conference or by the Editorial Committee, since the Conference is not a legislative body but serves primarily as a forum for the presentation of the varying viewpoints of changes and developments in the field of social work.

The Editorial Committee wishes again to emphasize the fact that the omission of a paper from the *Proceedings* does not reflect on its value to the Conference. It may have served a very useful purpose, stimulating thought and discussion at the time of the meeting. Such considerations as publication of similar material in social-work literature or previous volumes of the *Proceedings*, the local character of projects discussed, permanent value, space in the volume, etc., may have led the Committee to omit or abridge the paper. A complete record of the program is published in this volume.

The Editorial Committee wishes to express its appreciation

to the authors who submitted their manuscripts and to the section chairmen who assisted in the selection of papers for this volume. Mr. Stanley Lawrence has been of great assistance in editing the manuscripts for publication and in reading the proofs.

THE PUGSLEY AWARD

THE Editorial Committee unanimously voted the Pugsley Award to Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the *Survey*, for his paper, "Employment Planning." His address was adjudged the most important contribution to the subject matter of social work at the Conference in 1936.

Mr. Kellogg gave a clear, incisive, illuminating statement of the paramount issues in American life—unemployment and social security. He challenged social workers "to count in industrial statecraft, and their right to count." He presented a fearless and searching analysis of the conditions necessary "to employ the tools of democracy." His paper is written in the tough idiom of American speech. This is social-work writing at its best.

PAUL L. BENJAMIN, *Chairman*

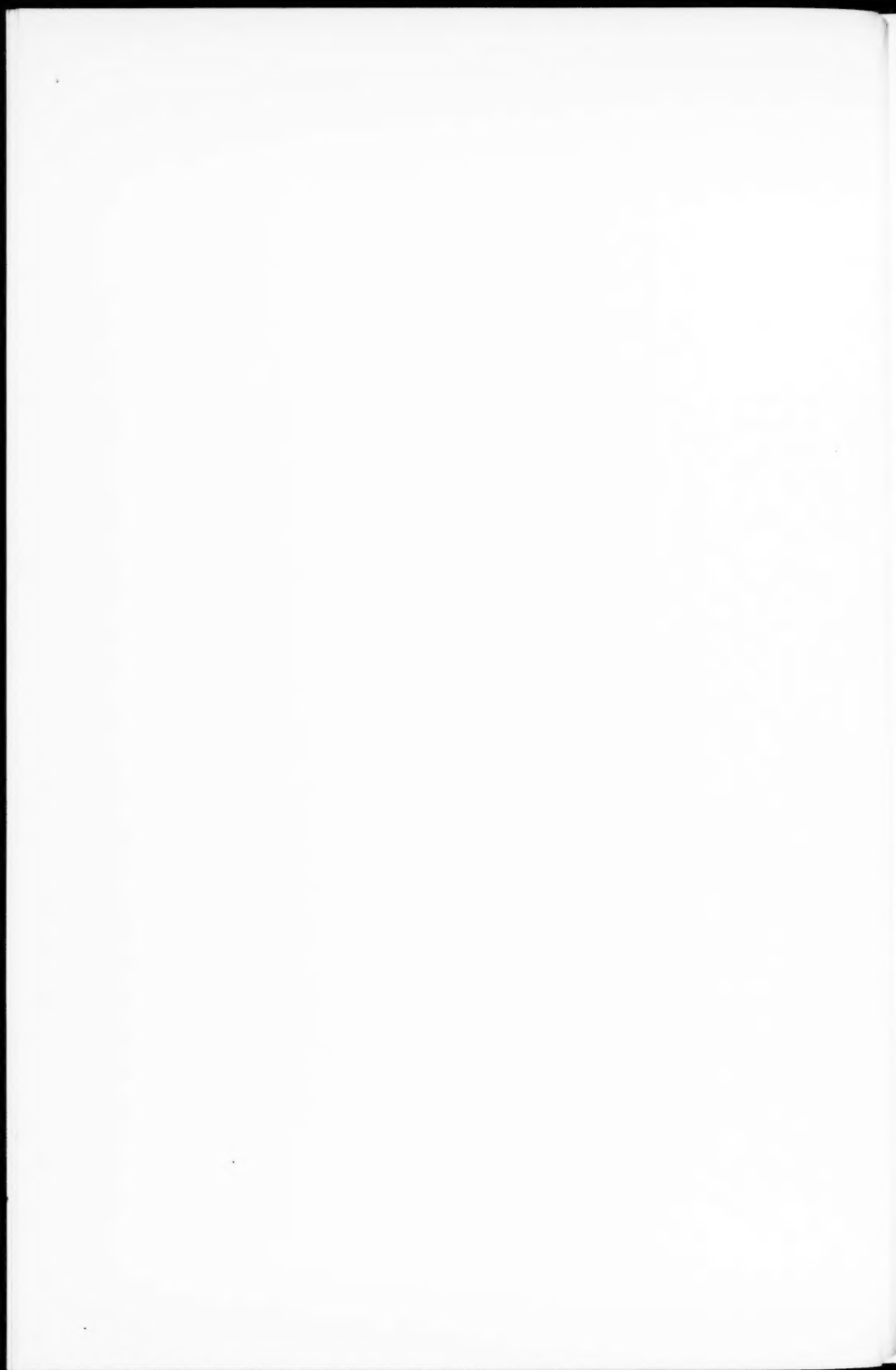


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J. PRENTICE MURPHY

IN MEMORIAM

IT IS proper and fitting to pause at this opening session of the National Conference to pay tribute to J. Prentice Murphy, president-elect, who since we last met has departed this life. Through the cycles of the years his was a glorious achievement in the arts of peace. Loving and understanding little children, he followed closely in the footsteps of one who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of God" (Mark 10:14). Oppression and injustice to them seared his soul and caused him tribulations unspeakable.

We shall strive in vain to understand Prentice Murphy if we approach him in any other than a spiritual mood. His testament has long since been written in the child welfare movement of America. His soul he irrevocably commended to God. His body he sacrificed—and would sacrifice again—to bear the human sorrow of other blood than his own. His mind he consecrated to the ministry of civilization. His heart, with unparalleled magnanimity, he gave to children and to America whom he loved better than his very self.

We of the National Conference who loved and honored him in life will ever cherish his memory, and we ask the Almighty Father in heaven to grant him eternal rest and peace.

MONSIGNOR KEEGAN

J. PRENTICE MURPHY AND THE CONFERENCE

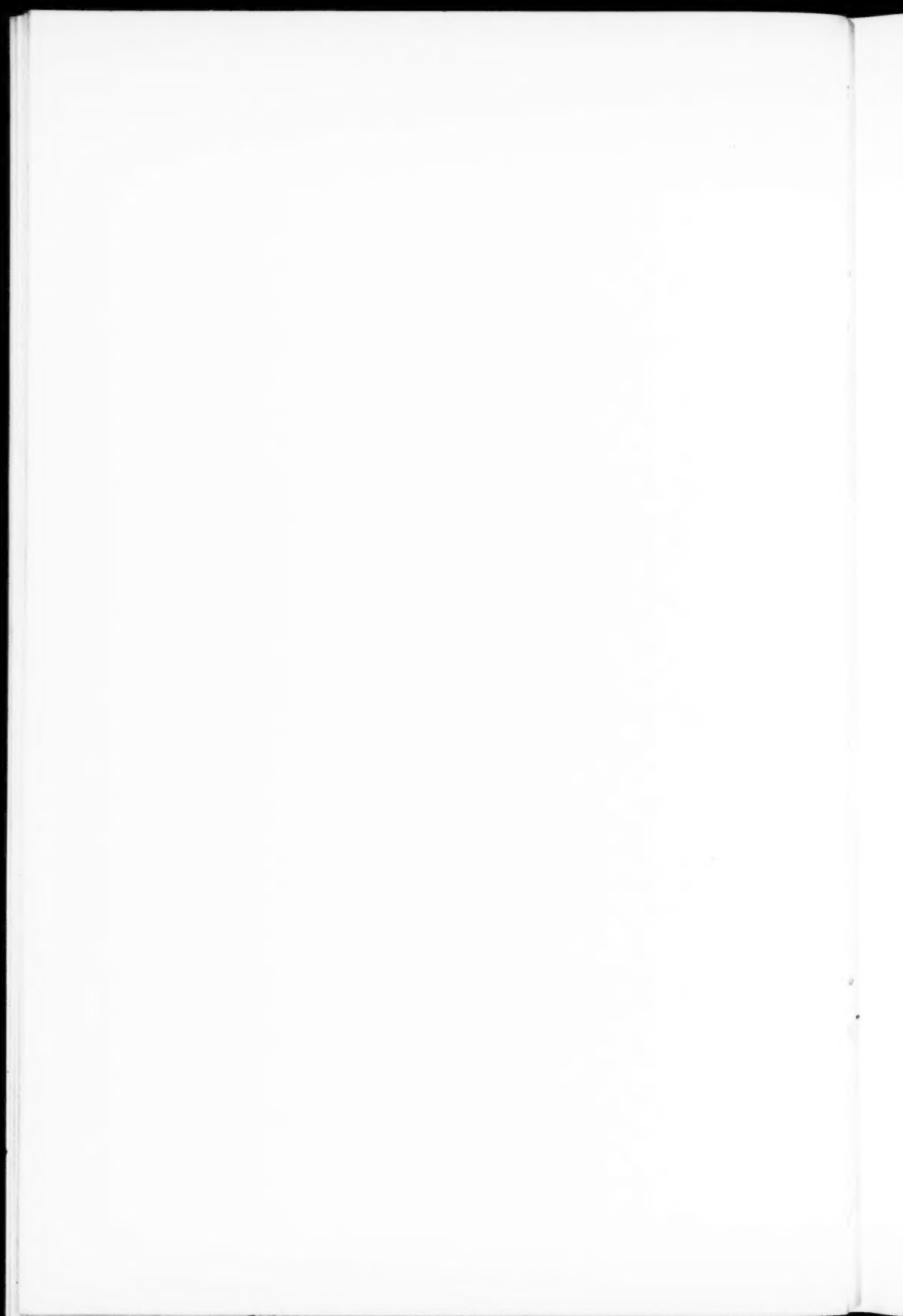
J. Prentice Murphy's contribution to the National Conference of Social Work cannot be measured in cold type or statistics. His greatest contribution was the spirit which always surrounded him in any of his contacts with the Conference during nearly a quarter of a century. However, few men have served more actively. The following record shows that which can in part be measured. The real record of his participation and contribution is written in the lives and hearts of thousands of friends.

PAPERS PRESENTED BY J. PRENTICE MURPHY BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AND ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Place	Year	Title of Paper
Cleveland	1912	A Community Program for Child Care
Baltimore	1915	A Study of Results of a Child-placing Society
Atlantic City	1919	The Effect of Philanthropic Foundations in Freeing Endowments
Providence	1922	The Superficial Character of Child-caring Worker
Des Moines	1927	The Use by Social Workers of Legal Resources in the Practice of Case Work
Boston	1930	Whither Bound?
Minneapolis	1931	Conditions of Wholesome Family Life Follow-Up of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection; Functions of the Church in the Program Mothers Aid in the Public Relief Movement Value of Social Service to Handicapped Children
Philadelphia	1932	Address in Honor of the Twentieth Anniversary of the United States Children's Bureau Must Times Be Hard for Children?
Detroit	1933	Certain Philosophical Contributions to Children's Case Work Our Need of a Philosophy Do the Problems of Illegitimacy Call for Special Consideration?
Montreal	1935	Effects of the Mass Relief Program on Social Work for Children Child Welfare Work in a Changing Social Order Child Labor

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS

- 1911 Committee on Children
- 1912 Committee on Children
- 1913 Committee on Children
- 1916 Committee on Promotion of Social Programs
- 1917 Committee on Organization
- 1920 Division on Children (vice-chairman)
- 1921 Division on Children (chairman)
Executive Committee (ex officio)
- 1922 Division on Children (chairman)
Executive Committee (ex officio)
- 1923 Executive Committee
Division on Children
- 1924 Executive Committee
Division on Children
International Conference of Social Work
- 1925 Second Vice-President
Executive Committee
Division on Children
- 1926 Program Committee
- 1929 Executive Committee
- 1930 Committee on Time and Place
Committee on Biennial Meeting
- 1932 Committee on Biennial Meeting
Committee on Admission to Status of Associate Group
- 1934 First Vice-President
Section on Social Case Work
International Conference of Social Work
- 1936 Nominee for President



GENERAL SESSIONS



DEMOCRACY AT THE CROSSROADS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*The Very Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan
Executive Director, Catholic Charities
New York City*

THE people of America are living in an atmosphere of emergency and expectancy. They have had rudely ripped from before their eyes the curtain of complacent confidence in the smooth functioning of their system of distribution and exchange of goods and services. Fundamental weaknesses that normally went unnoticed have been discerned. The idealism in the public life of the war period and the air of successful achievement in the following decade have become objects of derision. In their place has come either a cynical emphasis upon force as the permanent sanction in private or public affairs or a feverish advocacy of this or that reform as the panacea.

Like other periods of crisis, these years have produced an enormous output of remedies, some good, others hazardous, and still others definitely suicidal. All the remedies which have been proposed and all the remedies which have been tried possess the common characteristic of offering a new promise for public policy, the promise of further governmental intervention—a promise which in the minds of many places our democracy at the crossroads.

No one who takes a practical view of current trends can fail to perceive that we are destined to witness a far greater measure of intervention by public authority in the multiform relationships of mankind than was known to earlier generations. Come what may in the fashions and trends of politics, we seem certain to have a prolonged experience with social control in a measure

not contemplated even as recently as a decade ago. If this be so, those who follow the profession of social work must take account of it.

There are those who assert that the only function of social workers is to deal with the handicaps and inadequacies of the individual. I do not agree. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, our first task is to administer to the immediate needs of an individual, and yet leadership and guidance in human welfare make it imperative that we rise above palliative measures and search out the sources from which so much of our work flows. Our objective cannot be ameliorative only. We must take our collective experience, our cumulative knowledge, unite with other public-spirited elements in the community, and strive for a constructive course of action.

CRISES IN AMERICA

America has faced three major crises. All were freighted with political, economic, and social consequences of tremendous importance. In 1787 the new American commonwealth solved its first great test by the adoption of the Constitution, a political document, unique in the annals of government. In 1865 the political unity of the nation was preserved as the result of the war between the states, ending a second outstanding test of our American system of democracy.

We are now in the midst of a third great crisis. By principle and tradition we have always believed in individual freedom and equality of opportunity. Today deeply disturbed voices are protesting that freedom without security is a hollow mockery, that the door of individual opportunity is rapidly closing, and that economic slavery is descending upon large masses of our people. We may not subscribe to this thinking but we cannot ignore it.

AMERICA OF THE PAST

We appreciate the genius of our American form of government. We treasure the dignity, the responsibility, and the free-

dom it confers upon the individual. We glory in the contribution of our people to education, to science, to industry, and to agriculture. Our pride is the courage, the initiative, and the enterprise that has gone into the building of America. We live and have our being in a tradition which tells us that during the past three centuries these, our people, have made a tremendous contribution to the political and social progress of the common man.

But today we are facing realities difficult of adjustment to our traditional thinking. We are no longer a country with a moving frontier, offering every man a limitless field for self-expression in the building of a career and the accumulation of possessions. We are no longer a country of small sectionalized industries. We are no longer a people whose individual and social opportunities are limited by narrow communal boundaries.

THE LOST FRONTIER

For more than two hundred and fifty years America's moving frontier symbolized the adventurous spirit of a young and eager people. It provided the first real chance for a nation to test the philosophy of liberty and equality. It saved our industrial development from the social consequences of a saturated labor market; it elevated the living standards of America. It protected that balance between the possession of tangible and durable property and propertylessness which is essential for the absence or mitigation of social tensions and class conflicts.

The moving frontier disappeared more than a generation ago. The opportunities it offered must be looked for in other spheres. For a long time unexampled industrial development prevented us from fully realizing the finality of this fact. Our problem now is to adjust social and economic conditions to an era of large-scale production, to develop a new and better relationship between employer and employee, and to achieve a better standard of living and security for the great commonalty of our people. The day will not return when we can solve it by the simple process of going west.

PHILOSOPHY OF PAST AMERICA

America has been motivated by an individualistic philosophy. Among its principal tenets were freedom and equality of opportunity. We pinned our faith on these concepts. They have served us well. As we became more industrialized, monopoly often took the place of free competition. Furthermore, religious ideals which restrained our competitive spirit have been largely dissipated by the substitution of a dynamic materialism.

In the last fifty years there has been a growing confusion between the idea of economic liberty and the idea of political liberty. Our forefathers held that liberty meant freedom from state compulsion, freedom to pursue individual interest, freedom of religious conviction, freedom of cultural achievement. They successfully vindicated this concept of liberty. But they never held that the state lacked the right to interfere in the interest of the common good.

Two kinds of liberty have been carefully delineated in the Constitution. The First Amendment placed liberty of worship, of speech, of the press, of assemblage, and of protest beyond the lawmaking body.

"But the fifth and fourteenth amendments, dealing with the ownership and management of external possessions, give assurance in that field, not of freedom from restraint but of justice and regularity in the imposing of restraints. They tell us not that the state is bound as in the case of freedom of speech to withhold all regulation, but that in the making of its regulations the State must do so justly by orderly and trustworthy procedure."

In the process of our national development economic factors have exercised a profound influence on our attitude toward freedom. Unrestrained economic freedom degenerates into license. Such a policy enervates the spirit of democracy and is destructive of the common welfare.

For many of our people there is immediate need for a new definition of their rights and a new assurance of protection against oppression by economic power. They are not only con-

scious that the pioneer days have gone forever and that our individualistic philosophy has been deeply tinged with excessive self-interest, but they realize further that within recent times fundamental changes have taken place in the agricultural and industrial life of the nation. They demand to know now the effects of these changes on their economic and social life.

RECENT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES

Following the World War, and especially after 1922, we addressed ourselves to industrial and agricultural expansion on a scale before undreamed of. Temporarily this gilded era concealed the economic and social consequences of the agricultural crisis and the accumulating liabilities of the lost frontier. But today we see revealed the twofold maladjustment which had grown on the nation—the one in agriculture, the other in industry. On the agricultural front we have one million submarginal farms, and we are considering the problem of resettlement for four hundred and fifty thousand farmers. On the industrial front we are trying to provide for millions of unemployed. It is obvious that with modern large-scale production and labor-saving devices we cannot profitably employ our population who are candidates for work under existing conditions of prices, wages, hours of work, and competition. The farmless farmer and the jobless wage-earner dramatize the lack of balance between machine use and man use. Recovery will not correct it.

As we face these issues it is futile to cite the rugged individualism of the pioneers. The grandsons of the pioneers of yesterday are the job-seekers of today. They crowd our cities. They stand in line at the gates of our shops, they enrol in our relief agencies. They constitute an ever mounting proportion of our employables. This in itself is a revealing difference between past America and present America. Its implications reach far beyond the economic consequences. Depending on an insecure labor market, they become more and more conscious of their economic handicaps and of the injustices of which they are the victims. Economic handicaps permanently imposed on any

large number of individuals solidifies them into class-conscious groups. They lose interest in freedom; they are concerned only with security.

INTERRUPTION OF SOCIAL CIRCULATION

There is an English saying, "Once a servant always a servant." In America our widely different social philosophy has been aptly summed up in the phrase, "From shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations." The apprentice of yesterday was the boss of today and the owner tomorrow. Neither wealth nor poverty was static. Neither social height nor social depth was inherited. Our social life was built on free circulation of wealth and position which today has been disturbed. A fundamental change now threatens. There are striking signs of interruption in our social circulation. To quote a recent writer:

"Most of the large estates as at present managed we find not only perpetuate themselves but are larger as they pass from generation to generation. With large incomes from inherited property remaining intact or actually increasing, there results a diversion of a large proportion of the community's productive resources to the satisfaction of the wants of a few individuals and a fastening of control in a few hands."

Continued control of property in the hands of a few can mean only one thing—interrupted social circulation, the feudalization of American wealth. Are we, then, on our way toward the creation of a static leisure class, on whose closely guarded ranks no door opens in?

The interruption of social circulation on one front brings about corresponding interruption on another. The existence of a leisure class postulates the existence of a working class. The feudalization of wealth inevitably develops a permanent wage-earning class. The American workers of the past never constituted a group apart. They participated in the general social circulation, that is, they moved from one class to another. They are now in danger of becoming a socially permanent class if wage-earning is to be fixed, hereditary, insecure, and unstable.

They are drifting toward the system "once a servant always a servant."

The popularity of governmental social insurance is recognition of the uncertainties of the labor market. It is an instrument which the workers welcome as a protection against the hazards of a permanent wage-earning status. The growing movement toward industrial unionism is another manifestation of the development of a class demanding security and protection through economic and political action.

No reference to social circulation in America would be complete without mention of the middle class. The middle class has formed the backbone of the nation. It has stamped its character, made its history, formulated its mind, molded its democratic institutions. This group, agricultural and urban, is being pressed on both sides. On the one hand is the pressure of large-scale enterprise and well-intrenched monopolistic groups; on the other, the claims of labor, taxation, and social burdens. Under these pressures our middle class cannot long endure. It is bound to lose its strength and vitality. In its present state of pressure and danger it is minded to respond eagerly to new welfare gospels.

Advocates of reaction might well reckon with another situation. The middle class has been the main support of our present system of private property as a social institution. It will not endure if the drift toward concentration of ownership and profit long continues.

A recent study of the Brookings Institution gives us a clear picture of the centralization of ownership and profits. Out of fifteen billions in savings in 1929, thirteen billions belonged to 10 per cent of the population. Furthermore, 2.3 per cent of the families, having incomes in excess of \$10,000, contributed two-thirds of the entire savings of American families. Besides this, sixty thousand families at the top of the income scale—families with incomes exceeding \$50,000—saved almost as much as twenty-five million families whose incomes were less than \$5,000.

CONFLICTING GROUP INTERESTS

The rapid but uneven expansion of our industrial system, shown by the sharp peaks and dips of production graphs, has carried with it a constantly shifting labor market with consequent loss of security to the worker. At the same time demands of business efficiency, mergers, machinery, and new processes have shortened the working life of the wage-earner, while improved health standards have lengthened his natural life and increased his need for employment.

As a result, labor now looks to government for the security which it felt perfectly capable of attaining through its own efforts in the past. It is calling upon Congress for the establishment of certain minimum standards, wage scales, hours, and working conditions. It has abandoned all hope of setting up a national labor policy through its own efforts alone.

In its relationship to government labor is now adopting policies followed heretofore by industrial leaders for years. American industry has always looked to Congress for assistance in developing its programs. It has looked for tariffs restricting or excluding foreign competition. It has also looked for protection against the growing power and demands of labor organizations. In fact, industry has many times appealed to government to prevent labor from exercising its basic right of organizing.

In recent years the farmers as a group have demanded governmental assistance. They have asked Washington to help restore the balance between agriculture and industry. They have insisted on easy credit in the financing of their mortgages and the marketing of their crops.

Other groups have followed the example of labor, industry, and agriculture in demanding special considerations. The share croppers and farm tenants are seeking an opportunity to own their own land. Building and loan associations demand a continuation of government insurance of small home mortgages.

The rise and growing strength of different groups in this country have converted the field of public policy into a vast arena for conflicting interests. Each group is anxious to use federal pow-

er for its own purposes, frequently in conflict with the purposes of other groups. Government is whipsawed between clashing group interests. It is clearly faced with the alternative of making seesaw concessions to placate first one group and then another, or of rising above the selfish interests of all groups with an eye single to the common good.

It is not easy for a democratic government to rise beyond the control of powerful groups. There is real danger that in so doing it may move definitely in the direction of dictatorship in one form or another. Fortunately, in the case of the United States, the point of departure from democracy would be clearly and boldly indicated by transgressions against the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court. We need not let phantom fears close our minds to necessary changes in public policy. But we must be alert that such changes conform to the basic pattern of our democracy.

A large part of our people is still wedded to the traditional simplicity of our national life, to the loosely linked relationship between the federal authority and economic forces. We seek to adhere to the ideals so dear to us—equality of opportunity, free and untrammelled competition, individualism with all its pristine fervor. Liberty and individualism surge persistently in our blood. We want to go our American way; the realities, economic and social, threaten to lead us in another direction. This, then, is the anomaly of our national life—we have drifted as true individualists into social conditions which violate our ideals and impugn the integrity of our traditional ethical principles. What is worse, we are inclined to close our minds to the political and social implications of all this.

PROPOSED MODES OF GOVERNMENT

For us the state has never been an end in itself. If we sanction interference by the state in our individual lives, it is only to serve the common welfare. The American people will never be attracted by the dubious blessings of state autocracy.

There are those who cry: "Back to rugged individualism."

It would be an unprofitable adventure. Some favor a communistic experiment. We have too much faith in spiritual values and human rights to go the Russian way. Some believe in the totalitarian state—the overlordship of an oligarchy in every sphere of life, a deification of the state. In flight from such abuse of power our forefathers came to this country.

And so—American Democracy is at the crossroads. Will she continue to tread her accustomed paths? I have no doubt of it, providing the spirit, the sense of values of early America, are recovered—provided we realize that, within the basic structure of our democracy, government can be a useful instrument in serving human welfare.

ETHICAL VALUES

First and foremost there must be a renaissance of ethical standards. We need a revival of that sense of individual responsibility which went into the building of early America. An economic system is not mere social physics. It cannot be ethically neutral. No ethics are sound simply because they are successful in the economic sphere. A system which offers continuing opportunities for injustice accumulates the conditions of its own breakdown. Economics is not beyond the sphere of the human free will. If it leaves itself to the mechanical pressure of selfish interest unguided by ethics, it tends to chaos or autocracy.

Economic values are not supreme. There are higher values than those measured by the acquisition or non-acquisition of goods or of wealth. A society which fixes the accumulation of goods as the pinnacle of success invites social unrest because concentration of goods in one group spells scarcity in another. When possession of goods is the supreme aim, the passions and impulses of all social strata must, of necessity, be aroused and a bitter class struggle is inevitable. In the present decline of human and spiritual ideals we should realize how essential ethical values are and how dangerous it is to permit them to decay. It may well be that we have been living on the capital reserve of moral strength with which our fathers invested us through their

industry, thrift, virtue, and morality. This capital has been largely written off and wasted. It must be restored; we need it. Financial balances will not indicate our gain or our loss. These will be written in terms of human values alone.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

Furthermore, many of the social issues with which we contend have their basis in unhealthy economic conditions. For a long time we sought to deal with such problems through private social work, through redistribution of wealth by foundations, and through municipal, state, and federal relief. These are merely palliatives. Every social problem which has an economic basis should first be dealt with on economic grounds. Unemployment should be met by employment policy, farm problems should be met by agricultural policy, industrial emergencies affecting whole areas should be met by sound industrial policy.

PROPERTY

One of the principal foundations upon which the common welfare of this country rests is a wide distribution of property. Concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is contrary to the fundamental ideals of any democracy. Such a situation invariably leads to an oligarchy. There is a strong opinion in this country that the menace of an oligarchy of wealth may be prevented by confiscatory taxation on great accumulations of wealth. I do not agree with this. There are many ways by which such wealth can escape excessive taxation. What is more important, no taxation of great wealth can undo the social and economic evils incident to its accumulation. Governmental relief payments cannot possibly compensate those who were forced to the lowest rung of the economic ladder by conditions for which they were neither directly nor indirectly responsible. We do not want our people to lose their courage, initiative, and self-respect through reliance upon a governmental dole supplied by levies on wealth. We cannot subscribe to any so-called "economic" reason for creating a permanent pauper class in this

country. We can never countenance the turning of this country into a nation of propertyless job-seekers.

The very foundations of our Western civilization rest upon the wide diffusion of ownership of property. More than that, concepts which are dear to the heart of every American—freedom, independence of mind, self-respect, and self-responsibility—they, too, have their foundations in the possession of property. A high degree of centralization of property gives rise to strong opposition to private property ownership in any form. No emotional declamations will defend centralized property. The only safeguard for private property ownership as a social institution is a phalanx of middle-class and small property owners. This is the only way of maintaining a high flexibility for our industrial system, of preventing class war, and of avoiding totalitarian trends in government. Widespread ownership means a fair chance for wage-earning people—an opportunity for the industrious and thrifty man to rise, and an opening for our youth to reach an independent economic status.

Government must encourage individual ownership of land in every practicable way. By credit and subsidy, if necessary, we should encourage people to own their own homes. Government should aid the deserving tenant farmer to own his own land. Government should assist the great number of farmers on submarginal land to acquire property on which they can earn a living. Much of this is being attempted now. Such attempts should continue. We cannot forget that this country was built up and stamped mentally and morally by a large group in the middle-class brackets; it was its pride that it offered to countless immigrants the chance of ownership which they lacked in their native countries. If we deprive the people of this traditional opportunity, we shall accentuate the most fundamental of all our difficulties—the appalling lack of a wide distribution of property. What is more appalling, we shall be developing a type of citizen lacking in independence and any sense of responsibility.

WAGE POLICIES

Closely connected with the acquisition and diffusion of property is the return offered the worker, whether he be salaried or wage-earner. No system of social insurance, public works, or other governmental device can compensate workers who, though employed, do not earn sufficient to maintain themselves in health and decency. The fact that twelve million families, at the peak of prosperity in 1929, had an average annual income of less than \$1,500 indicates the difficulty of securing a wide distribution of property under existing conditions.

American trade-unionism has been a vital factor in improving the conditions of wage-earners through collective bargaining. The benefits of unionism are not limited to the membership of organized unions. Unionism has influenced greatly the wages and working conditions of unorganized groups. It has taught employers to be concerned with the human equation in labor. It has, by and large, made the American people conscious of the need for better labor standards. Today the house of labor appears sharply divided between craft and industrial unionism. Socially minded leaders of public opinion are anxious to see the conflict resolved in such a way that the principle of collective bargaining will not be jeopardized.

Labor leaders in this country have come to recognize the importance of governmental action in the field of labor and industrial relations. Some labor leaders call for a national wage program by federal authority. I have grave doubts as to whether or not such a plan is feasible. It would invest the government with responsibilities reaching far beyond mere labor interests—responsibilities which, in fact, are very difficult to administer. If we were a Fascist nation ruled by dictatorship and endowed with unrestricted power over the whole economic range, then it might work for a while. But are we willing to accept the promises of such a position? The fixing of wages is a very difficult and responsible affair, a national issue indeed—not an issue which concerns one group alone. I think that our principal endeavor should be the unionization of unskilled labor. The rest will fol-

low as soon as there are strong and well-led unions of this kind. I believe if the American people mean to maintain the integrity of the middle class in this country, the principle of collective bargaining must be extended to the whole industrial field. "The wage contract should, when possible, be modified by a contract of partnership as is already being tried in various ways to the no small gain both of the wage earners and of the employers." In this way wage-earners have a real stake in the ownership, the management, and the profits of industry.

DECENTRALIZING INDUSTRY

We have reached a state in our history demanding the decentralization of industry with a resettlement and property-restoring program. Our people, especially the youth, suffer greatly from regional concentration of industry. This concentration may offer advantages for private business, but it has its great drawbacks for the mental, cultural, and bodily health of our nation. Decentralizing our highly urbanized people would bring untold benefits to family life, community spirit, and personal responsibility. American men and women shall not be made mere cogs in an industrial machine. Our future depends on people closely bound up with the protective and maturing power of community life. Crowding the people of this country into big industrial centers means destruction of spiritual values and cultural opportunities in the interest of improved balance sheets. The proper order of values may well demand that we slow up such shortsighted economic progress. Man does not live by bread alone—neither does a nation. Let us come back to recognize the importance of spiritual values! They are more real and lasting than any profits or wage rates can be.

GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN WELFARE

The changes which have taken place in our social and economic structure call for a new attitude toward governmental functions. We shall be reconciled to this attitude only after a long and difficult struggle. Powerful forces are seeking to build

up resistances to programs called for by these changes. They cry out "Federal imperialism!" They accuse the government of Fascist tendencies. It seems to me that we are far from it. The very idea of a state implies power, authority, and the exercise of certain of its functions through departments, commissions, and boards. Such subdivisions signify a new category between the people and their government. Such administrative boards are inescapable in a government intrusted by Congress with new and far-reaching functions. Many loosely characterize the operation of such boards as "government by bureaucracy"; at the same time they urge the state to undertake vast new functions. Such boards can be used well under trained and efficient leadership for the service of democratic institutions. The forces opposing such development act and speak as if they were dealing with the America of fifty years ago.

Some persons refuse to recognize that the tensions, frictions, and maladjustments prevalent during the last six years compelled the government to forsake neutrality and exert its power. They forget that we are now entering a period of more state interference not, as in the past, for the fostering of trade, production, and commerce, but for the protection of large social groups and for the maintenance of social peace. They forget that we have reached a point in our history where it is necessary that social policies shall influence, and if necessary control, the economic policy.

A government conscious of human values must intervene in the field of welfare and relief. In so doing there is a natural order which cannot be disregarded without serious consequences. In line with the principle of subsidiarity we should never refer to the larger units of government those problems that can be dealt with adequately by the smaller ones. We should look to the individual states only for the solution of those welfare and relief problems that cannot adequately be dealt with by the cities and counties. In other words, every economic and social problem should be met where it arises, and when that

economic or social unit cannot cope with it, then, and then only, should the higher unit step in.

Recognizing the financial handicaps of our local and state governments, we cannot help being distressed by their tendency to pass their responsibilities to the federal government. This tendency makes one wonder whether the traditions of local and state governments in America are not weakening perceptibly.

There is an aspect of the problem of governmental policy which cannot be too earnestly emphasized. If government is to extend its services, it must be far better equipped than is now the case in the qualifications of those charged with public responsibility. Regardless of partisan political considerations, we are certain to need a great improvement in public administration as we see new burdens assumed by the federal and local governments. Even a reversion to *laissez faire* would require the utmost effort to improve the personnel of public service, while the further expansion of social control imperatively calls for the searching-out of the best available material to serve in the public office.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

The welfare of the country depends upon more than a wide distribution of property and governmental regulation in matters concerning human well-being. It calls also for programs of social insurance protecting the workers against industrial hazards.

The National Security Act has been severely criticized in certain quarters. The validity of some of the criticism is evident, but the Act taken as a whole represents a long step forward. In this one piece of legislation, defective as it may be, we have made as much progress as any European country made in the pre-war years. We have committed ourselves to the principle of federal-state protection against the hazards of old age and unemployment. We have set up a federal-state program for the care of dependent children in their own homes, crippled chil-

dren, the blind, the development of child welfare services, infancy and maternity service, hygiene and the extension of public health.

The improvement and fuller development of our social insurance program is a challenge to each of us. But we should be vigilant lest we accentuate the evils we seek to remedy. Experience teaches that social legislation increases the cost of production and that large employers absorb this increased cost through improved technological processes. Their industrial units become larger, and monopoly eventually takes the place of free competition, with the inevitable result that the small employer is placed at an increasing disadvantage. While we are experimenting with our social insurance program, let us see to it that it is so administered that it will not constitute a further incentive for industrial centralization and middle-class destruction.

Admitting the benefits inherent in the social insurance program as it now stands, we must keep in mind that it alone cannot give our workers that minimum of protection they are entitled to against poverty and distress. It cannot give them the necessary protection against continuous unemployment. It cannot protect them against economic loss due to illness. Social insurance must be implemented by a flexible public works program and a program for public assistance.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The attitude of social workers toward a general program of public assistance is well known. They believe that the federal, state, and local governments should participate. They believe, further, that federal participation furnishes the basis for expecting a well-organized and humane program of public assistance. There are, however, two schools of thought in regard to the responsibility of the federal government.

One school insists on drawing a line of demarcation between two different kinds of poverty; one type of poverty, they say, grows out of the defects of our present economic system, the other type of poverty out of individual human limitations.

For those whose poverty arises from the present economic system this school would set up definite rights. It would provide public employment for those out of work, establish unemployment compensation, old age pensions, old age insurance, and public benefits for dependent children in their own homes. Poverty growing out of individual human limitations it would regard basically as a state and local problem, to be dealt with by local public and private agencies.

The other school of thought refuses to draw any distinction between different types of poverty. It would deal with all persons in need on the basis of their needs under a general program of public assistance.

One would have to be a prophet to predict accurately the course of economic processes during the coming years. Who can foretell the rate of recovery in various avocations or the amount of unemployment which will exist in various sections of the country? There are, however, certain principles which should guide our actions as social workers in outlining programs.

1. We believe that it is the duty of government to see that the necessities of life are provided for those who lack them through no fault of their own. We should not relent in bringing pressure of public opinion to bear on governmental agencies so that our local, state, and federal governments will meet their respective responsibilities.

2. We believe the human value of self-reliance can be preserved by carefully selected, useful work opportunities. We cannot afford to allow great numbers of our people to disintegrate morally and physically in idleness. Where work is not available under private auspices, it should be provided by government to the full extent of its ability to finance and administer it effectively.

3. We believe the administration of work programs and of relief can, in the main, be carried out most effectively under local and state direction.

4. We believe wherever the financing of adequate assistance

is beyond the capacity of the states and localities, the federal government should participate. Such participation, however, should not relieve the states and localities of their just responsibilities, now or in the future. Government cannot shirk its responsibilities in the relief of common distress.

CONCLUSION

America is coming of age. It is growing introspective. It is becoming mature and stabilized. During these last few years it has pondered the values in personal liberty and economic liberty. It realizes that both must be preserved but never one at the expense of the other.

It perceives more clearly today that its economic life must be vitalized by the ethical principles inherent in the philosophy that gave virility and power to early America. It is calling upon us to be inspired with the spirit of our forefathers, who were citizens first, with a sense of duty to the community, and pioneers afterward. It knows that unrestrained and unregulated competition divorced from governmental influence is stifling equality of opportunity and threatening us with the formation of hereditary and permanent classes.

The future of American Democracy rests, in large measure, upon a wide distribution of private ownership of property.

The right to own private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose.

If necessary, government—an instrument of the people—must aid in procuring individual ownership, otherwise the epitaph to the passing of the great middle class is being written.

Governmental programs protecting large social groups are imperative. They shall not restrict our inherited personal liberty, but they shall surround it with a self-respecting security. Government must adhere to the only safely charted course for our Democracy; it must steer by the lodestar of the Constitu-

tion as a living thing. American Democracy means "justice to all under the law."

Group action can do much, but there is one form of individualism which we must cultivate. In the great profession to which we have dedicated our lives, and in the prodigious task that lies ahead, we need to be men and women of sound personal worth. We must rediscover for ourselves, for the people for whom we work, and for our beloved America the everlasting reality of God, the supreme value of the soul, the rule of right reason, purity of heart, unselfishness of spirit, the power of discipline, the depths and the heights of divine and human love. Man's destiny is not limited by the boundaries of earth or by the horizons of happiness here below. The brotherhood of man has its foundation in the fatherhood of God.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND POLITICS

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PARTISAN politics has long been the evil genius of our public welfare program, and social workers today are only following the time-honored traditions of our early leaders in trying to keep these services not perhaps "above the battle" but above the betrayals that too often follow the battle. The social worker faces a changed world today. Like the World War, the great depression has shaken and shattered many of our old ways of thinking and doing. New definitions of our objectives, new statements of the faith that is in us, are called for by what is almost a new professional group.

It seems important, therefore, that we begin with a resurvey of these old familiar words, "public welfare" and "politics," to see where they belong in the new order.

THE STATE WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

Public welfare was first used, perhaps, for the state welfare organizations—and the great institutions which have grown through the years to demand budgets of almost staggering proportions. The history of the attempt to protect the state welfare institutions from the spoilsman is a long story that need not be retold. This was the chief field of interest of the state "boards of charities," and one of the reasons for the founding of this Conference. And our *Proceedings* have told over and over again the story of how our state charitable services have only too often been made incompetent and inefficient because of interference and control by partisan politics. Nearly forty years ago, at the last meeting in New York City, Mrs. Lowell, so long a distin-

guished member of the New York State Board, told of the degrading influences of political corruption to which our people had been subject for more than one hundred years. This had "eaten into our very souls," she said, and the recovery, she thought, would be "long in proportion." She was right, and the recovery has been very long indeed.

Our mentally sick patients in our so-called "state hospitals" have had relays of political doctors as their superintendents. New prisons for women or new institutions for the feeble-minded, schools for the blind and deaf, state schools for delinquent girls, our state reformatories for delinquent boys, have been established by hopeful public welfare committees only to be turned over to political, or quasi-political, superintendents.

I re-read not long ago that very important report on *Politics and Public Institutions* prepared by a committee of this Conference for the meeting of 1898, when this Conference celebrated its first twenty-five years of service. This report, prepared by sending out a careful questionnaire, described the conditions then existing as a result of the spoils system as suitable "only for feudalism and for a corrupt and arbitrary monarchy." Under the "system of terrorism" which was said to prevail, the best and bravest men were so intimidated that most of the committee's inquiries "remained unanswered, partly from indifference, partly from fear of the party lash."

At the Detroit meeting of this Conference in the early years of this century William Dudley Foulke, the redoubtable civil service commissioner, charged that the use of a benevolent institution for partisan purposes¹ was misfeasance in office, and he cited a great lawyer like Coke to show that it was "contrary to the common law," and that officers who thus prostituted their power could be removed. Madison had declared that "this was a high crime within the meaning of the Constitution." But, unfortunately, it was a crime that brought rewards and not punishment to the perpetrators, and in many states Commissioner

¹ See also W. D. Foulke, *Fighting the Spoilsmen. Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement* (1919).

Foulke reported that, as far as public welfare institutions were concerned, "the political spoilsmen were still glorying in their shame." Another generation has almost passed, and some important improvements are to be recorded, but in many of our states the spoilsmen are still there, overlords of our helpless clients.

The present head of our Illinois Department of Public Welfare, speaking at the Cleveland Conference just ten years ago, told us that during the two preceding years "scandal in the administration of penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions" had been "a continuous sensation." Speaking from his long experience in the public welfare service, Mr. Bowen reported that, with few exceptions, superintendents of charitable—and wardens of penal—institutions were still "selected on the basis of their political availability." And he urged that the power and influence of this Conference "be directed toward a revolution" in this field.

But revolutions come slowly, and his final words to us were that we "denounce spoils politics in hot words year after year and make small gains." Today, ten years later, Mr. Bowen can point to many state services still under partisan control.

All this may seem to many of you like a story "of old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago." But the battles are still with us every day. Almost every year that we meet in these later days we are told of the political destruction of some useful piece of public welfare work, or the loss to some state of the services of an able worker who has fallen a victim to the spoils system. Since our last meeting we have mourned the loss of competent welfare officials like Richard Conant, of Massachusetts; Mrs. La Du, of Minnesota; and Mrs. Liveright, of Pennsylvania, sacrificed to political party changes.

THE CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

The correctional institutions and agencies have, if possible, been worse than the state hospitals. Social workers have sometimes seemed to neglect the correctional field, but, if so, this has

not been from lack of interest, but rather because there has been small reason to train or prepare for prison administration or probation work when appointments in these fields, either in the prisons or in the courts, have been so regularly dictated by politics.

Our fellow-worker in this conference, Mr. Sanford Bates, has been making notable headway with the Federal Bureau of Prisons in the last few years. But we do not forget that his immediate predecessor was a former missionary whose claim to this high office was apparently based on the fact that he was a brother-in-law of a president of the United States. It is a noteworthy achievement that after this unsuitable appointment, Mr. Bates, appointed by a Republican president, should hold over even with a change in the dominant political party—an encouraging assurance that after all we do make some progress.

The state of New Jersey has set a fine example, under the leadership of Commissioner William J. Ellis, by removing not only the state charitable services, but the prisons, from the control of the spoils system. And we have occasional happy accidents like a new and wonderful reform administration in the city of New York. But in many states the whole correctional system is still in the dark ages of political mismanagement.

Another difficulty in this field is that our probation services, which should be administered by expert social workers carefully selected on a merit basis, are in the hands of politically appointed officials. During the period of thirty-seven years since the first juvenile court was established, as the juvenile-court system has spread from state to state, these organizations for the care of our neglected, homeless, dependent, and delinquent children have been administered under politically selected judges, who become judges of these courts by some turn of the wheel of political fortune and not because they have any knowledge of the modern science of public welfare or modern methods of social and psychiatric work for delinquent youth.

ADULT PROBATION

In most of our states, where adult probation has been made statutory, the new system has been only an aching disappointment, because our judges, like other elected officials, also have their political friends. The most difficult kind of social service has often remained in the hands of men and women who do not know the meaning of the word. Our instalment-fine laws, now more than twenty-five years old, have been little used for the same reason, and the recently published federal census report on the local jails, issued just last year, shows that more than 150,000 men and women were committed to these insanitary institutions in that single year because they were too poor to pay the small fines assessed against them.

In Chicago, after our adult probation statute was passed by the legislature nearly twenty-five years ago, our hopes of a new and useful service were disappointed when a former judge of the Municipal Court, who had been defeated for re-election, was made the first chief probation officer by his former associates on the municipal bench. The service remained stagnant for twenty-five years, until his recent retirement a few months ago. Hope springs eternal in the social worker's breast, and after his withdrawal we hoped that at last a proper appointment would be made that would reclaim the system. But judges seem to have changed little in twenty-five years, and the new head of our so-called "probation service," who took the office on February 1 of the present year, is now a former sheriff, who is also a former alderman. So far as I know, his only claim to this important office of chief probation officer was the claim that several hundred thousand of our citizens might have. He needed a job, and he had been in the war, where he had sacrificed an arm for his country. This unsuitable appointment to an important public welfare position has been made in spite of protests of the Chicago Bar Association, but there it is. As might be expected, the other adult probation officers are likely to be of the same type. An investigating committee appointed a few years ago by the new chief justice of our Municipal Court found that these

forty-two probation officers had had a strange variety of experience, which could indicate only that their appointment was based not on proper qualifications for this service but on political services properly rendered. Their previous occupations included such political positions as deputy bailiff, bailiff's custodian, and clerkships in the various county offices; building inspector, assistant county jailer; and such experience as street-car motorman, photographer, railway fireman, and parlor-car attendant.

The situation with regard to parole boards is not very different. In state after state the work of these boards has fallen far short of expectations. What should be expert social services are only tragic or scandalous failures, because partisan politics has seized them for base and selfish ends.

THE LOCAL SERVICES

But to most of us public welfare means today not only, and perhaps not even chiefly, the state welfare institutions but rather those local services in the townships or the counties which came into new public interest with grants of state or federal aid.

The recent depression gave to thousands of local authorities a new understanding of the old poor law territory, which had long been the happy hunting ground of local politics and politicians. And many of them learned for the first time—yes, and from social workers—that ability, integrity, and professional skill are necessary for relief work. Great strides were made, beginning in 1932 with the work of Mr. Fred Croxton and his regional workers, who administered the first federal-aid funds, and were greatly extended under Mr. Harry Hopkins and his able social-work staff. But now again the poor law services are drifting back to the old system of petty incompetence and are becoming more political and more unskilled almost day by day. You know this story, it is your story: how in some areas everything connected with poor relief—the purchase of food, the purchase of coal, the purchase of medicines, the purchase of cloth-

ing, the selection of a county doctor—are influenced by politics. The old theory of local responsibility invited irresponsibility.

One effect of the inefficiency of the local social services was the widespread belief in the inevitably superior virtues of private over public social work. In the period following the earlier depressions of 1873 and 1893 the incompetence, inefficiency, and widespread corruption in the distribution of public relief in those days of municipal graft and dishonesty explain the indifference and even hostility which many of our social-work group maintained toward public relief. Seth Low, an earlier reform mayor of New York, told this conference that there was no way to protect relief from politics, and he thought that the only way out was to abolish public relief entirely.² In many large cities in this country public relief was abolished.

Another indirect consequence of the political incompetence of the local services has been the development of the system of turning the public money over to private agencies and the general subsidizing of private social work out of public funds; and the wasteful system of giving public funds to private nursing associations, private hospitals, private children's agencies, and private family welfare societies is due, in part, to this distrust.

SOCIAL SECURITY

In our new social-security program there is now going on in many parts of this country an attempt on the part of local political leaders to make the new program recognize the claims of the local chieftains. They are determined to hold their cloudy titles to their old local perquisites in the field of public welfare. In some states a political battle has been waged to prevent the state department from having any control over the local authorities. In one Middle Western state a county was reported to me recently where the man who had been put in charge of old age pensions is a former barkeeper. A former student who reported this said that it would not be so bad if he had only been a good barkeeper, but he was not even that. In Illi-

² "Pauperism in Brooklyn and New York," *Proceedings* (1879), p. 200.

nois, even when faced with the difficult problem of new relief taxes, politicians have preferred to refuse the federal grant-in-aid, which would have relieved the Illinois taxpayers by a grant of federal funds of something like six million dollars during the first half of the year. This has been done in part because they will not surrender their claim to complete control of local offices, and in part because of partisan opposition to the program of a rival political group.

LEGISLATION IS POLITICAL

But have we defined politics for our present purpose? Certainly we would all agree that politics, in so far as it means the prostitution of public services to buy votes or reward political supporters, belongs to the dark ages of the spoils system. But politics does not mean merely a system of partisan rewards. Some of the most important of our social welfare questions today are public questions and, therefore, are quite properly political, and must first go to the voters for decision and then to our elected body of legislators for action. Whether we are to have federal aid for relief is a political question. Whether we shall have old age pensions or unemployment compensation are political questions; and the kind of old age pensions that we are to have, whether local, state, or federal, whether contributory or not contributory, whether universal or on the basis of a means or needs test—these are all properly political questions. Whether unemployment compensation is to be paid for by the workers, or by taxes on their employers—this is a political question. These are questions we must be prepared to discuss with legislators and political executives; and while we may often regret their failure to understand public welfare needs, we regard the right of our elected officials to decide through legislation any of these political questions as the democratic method of action, although we may modestly be sure our decision might be wiser than theirs.

But when these questions have been decided by our public officials, then they cease to be political questions and become

administrative responsibilities. The work of the politically elected members of legislative bodies should end and the work of the experts begin at this point. That is, the place of the politician is in the legislative halls and not in the administrative offices.

CIVIL SERVICE

The long struggle to protect public welfare agencies and institutions from the political spoilsman is familiar history. What really concerns us is what is to be done about it. You will probably agree with me that there is only one way out, and that is the establishment of a merit system through the adoption of proper civil service laws. You will also agree with me that, although civil service is the only way out, it is not always an easy way to go. "No flowery path or bed of roses" lies in that direction. But it is there that we must find our salvation and the only hope of protecting our public social services.

Great progress has been made with federal civil service, but in most of our states we are still almost in the Dark Ages. Only ten states have any state civil service laws, and in some of these states it is still possible for the civil service to be politically manipulated. In only four states—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin—is the system even reasonably efficient. Not one state has adopted a civil service law since the year 1920.

Those of us who believe in civil service are under no illusions about its difficulties. The selection of personnel is always difficult, even if politics is absent. Civil service systems do not work themselves—they call for great intelligence and honesty in administration and in all the details of planning. In the field of public welfare there is the problem of defining our professional services, so that those who are trained in the field of public service may be selected by the civil service method. Setting up standards and devising satisfactory examinations, assembled and non-assembled, finding ways to use oral examinations, arrangements for promotions, dismissals, and retirements—these are not simple problems.

A very distinguished governor of an important Middle Western state, who belittled the civil service, told this Conference that it was no more possible to choose a social worker by civil service than it was possible to choose a wife by civil service.

One of the weak points in our situation is the fact that many of our leading social service administrators are like this old-fashioned governor. They do not really believe in civil service—at least, not for themselves. They think they should be given greater freedom, and more of it, in the selection of the staff, although they may believe quite sincerely in civil service for other executives. But can we convince others of the need for civil service if we believe in it only half-heartedly ourselves and are full of skepticism about whether it can be made to work? Can we expect the politicians to accept that which deprives them of so many perquisites when our own leaders refuse to accept it?

I have heard from the floor of this Conference well-known social workers condemn civil service as unworkable. This is, of course, like getting rid of public relief instead of reforming it. Those who have so little faith in this basic principle give the whole cause away.

Our public welfare services will be no better than the ability, character, and training of the men and women who administer them. The problem of public welfare personnel is really two-fold: first, to get the appointive administrative services—like our department of public welfare—out of politics and on a civil service basis; second, to get the services that are now in the hands of elective officials, but which should be in the hands of administrative officers, protected by civil service appointments.

There is a lesson for all of us in that interesting autobiography in which John R. Commons, of Wisconsin, has shared with us the story of his life. A young and enthusiastic reformer in 1905, Professor Commons had been asked by the elder Governor LaFollette, then at the height of his success, “to draft the best possible civil service law,” and he certainly drafted a good one. And then John Commons tells us in his honest way that six years later, when he was in charge of some legislation that set

up the new Industrial Commission for Wisconsin, he tried to get around his own civil service law. Let me tell you his story as he tells it. He writes: "I found myself in direct opposition to the civil service law which I had drafted six years before. A clause in the Industrial Commission law (we were proposing) exempted from civil service examination the 'deputies' of our Commission. But the LaFollette principles would tolerate no favorites and the proposed exemption was not allowed."

John Commons then put his honest and resourceful mind to work on the question of the kind of examinations that he thought would get the right kind of staff. The details of his new plans are not important.³ What is important is that the Civil Service Commission accepted the Commons proposals, and some satisfactory deputies were secured under his new examination plans.

It is typical of John Commons' honesty that he says: "In later years, I was glad that I had been defeated by the devotion to civil service rules which LaFollette had succeeded in bringing home to his followers. It relieved us of all political pressure from Progressives for jobs and gained for the Commission the confidence of employers to whom we were supposed to be antagonistic. . . . We discovered in 1911 what LaFollette had known in 1904, that progressive legislation could not be made enduring . . . and, in our case, conciliatory toward organized employers and employees, except by a civil service law in which the Progressives, like their great leader, denied themselves political preference for jobs."

POLITICAL CLEARANCE

As to the present situation, it must be admitted that under the new federal agencies about which we, as social workers, have

³ Actually, he says, he "proposed that the civil service examinations should be 'elimination contests,' but that the actual appointments for the positions should be made on oral examinations and recommendations by the advisory committee of the organized employers and organized labor which were authorized by the new law and which we had already begun to set up." See *Myself* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934). P. 201.

been so much concerned, civil service has gone backward and not forward. C.W.A. and W.P.A., like F.E.R.A., have been entirely outside of civil service. And the Social Security Board has not yet called an examination, although the board was appointed nine months ago. They are certainly very discouragingly like the old governor and apparently think there are better ways of getting qualified personnel.

The original Costigan-LaFollette Bill creating the F.E.R.A. provided for civil service. But the act that was finally passed three years ago this month left the administration free from any restrictions as to appointments. The President, however, was clearly anxious that the new federal relief funds should not be made use of for political appointments. But the new funds were federal grants to the states. There was, therefore, a group of federal appointees and a group of state and local appointees, with all of the federal and most of the state officials on a non-civil-service basis. By and large, as far as federal appointments were made a non-partisan policy was followed; and the reported "unpopularity of social workers" among certain groups, and the unpopularity of the federal administration among some politicians, were due to the courageous and resolutely non-political course that was followed by the social workers in charge of the federal program under the leadership of Mr. Harry Hopkins. But civil service would have got the same qualified personnel without the political friction. And the state E.R.A.'s were, many of them, the victims of political manipulation, and the federal government had the difficult course of deciding which of the rival factions it should support. The result was that Washington, also, seemed at times to be playing politics. Without the protection of civil service some compromise was inevitable. The pressure on senators and congressmen was so intensified by the depression that even the reformers who are usually "true to reform" and who resent the whole patronage system sometimes found themselves unpleasantly involved in patronage disputes. And even those who wished to hold a disinterested course seemed at times to lay aside principles, and urge the appointment of men

and women about whose qualifications for the work they could not possibly be informed. Administrators who were determined to keep all politics out of the service found themselves innocently involved with rival political factions.

Out of these difficulties there developed in 1934 the system of "political clearance," which is in the direct line of descent from the spoils system. The new offshoot is less objectionable than the parent-stem from which it springs, but it is, nevertheless, a "chip off the old block." This system of political clearance requires, for the major positions, approval of the politicians. That is, the politicians can veto but cannot nominate candidates. This gives the administrative agency, although restricted by the veto, a chance to choose the best "available" person. This is much better, of course, than the old spoils system, but it remains a political element in an organization where partisan politics should be entirely absent.

Many of you know, better than I can hope to, this last chapter of our relief story. We should not, I am sure, agree with the charges made by one political party against the other, that the "vast outlay of money" has been marked by political abuses. We should not agree that billions have been used as a campaign fund for the party in power. But the joint resolution of the Congress in April, 1935, "making appropriations for relief purposes," which made available the four-billion-dollar fund for W.P.A., provided for Senate approval of all the higher W.P.A. officials, which was, of course, putting the hallmark of politics on the new program. It was commonly said that the governors had had the relief and the senators would have the works program.

The President of the United States has said over and over again⁴ that "partisan politics must be kept out of relief work." And we believe that this is his earnest hope and wish, and that he has tried to have this policy followed. But something more far-reaching than the chief executive's unquestioned desire to

⁴ See Editorial, *New York Times*, April 10, 1936.

avoid partisan politics is the price of non-partisanship in such a program; and one man, so overburdened, cannot, merely by wishing to have an honest administration, bring about so important a result. Any system of "political clearance" necessarily invalidates all hopes of a truly non-partisan staff through all the vast organization.

A recent editorial in the *New York Times*, which was quite properly called "Not Corruption but Politics," takes note of the fact, with which you are only too familiar, that "the Federal Administrator, in one of his franker moments, said that he hoped no one would suppose him foolish enough to name state or municipal administrators who were not agreeable to the Democratic leaders." Certainly the *Times* is right in saying that our friends "ought to be closely questioned" as to this point. And the editorial commented further that while "the actual source of such evils as may exist or can be proved is certainly not in open corruption,—there is such a thing as incidental and unintended political corruption." In this leading editorial the *Times* called for "a stiffening of morale all the way up and down the administration of public welfare."

Above all we need civil service, and there has been time enough since May, 1933, to have built up a competent civil service group, to have prepared excellent civil service lists. To be a competent work-relief administrator no one needs to be a special brand of Democrat, and he should not be asked to wear any other political label. This work is not and must not be political. No effort should be spared to prevent the charge that the greatest funds ever appropriated by any nation for human welfare were used for partisan purposes. To require partisan approval of those in charge because the party does not trust administrators who could be chosen on a civil service basis is merely following in the old ruts of the spoils system. The theory that administrators will not be competent unless they subscribe to party objectives has been heard only too often as a defense, when public welfare programs have been manipulated for political purposes.

The policy of making blanket appropriations for the new federal agencies has been another factor that has given those who are in the opposing political camp an excuse for making the charge that the funds are granted on the basis of partisan political considerations. This policy of leaving what are, in fact, legislative questions to the discretion of the executive and the administrators he appoints has meant that the system of making grants-in-aid to the minor local authorities is not understood or accepted. Why one state gets more and another state gets less does not follow any policy that has been publicly debated, with the debates a matter of public record and with publicly recorded votes. It is certainly difficult for any of us to understand and explain just why grants of one amount are made here and grants of other amounts are made there. After all, it is the old tradition of this democracy of ours that we have "a government of laws, not men." No one individual can possibly allocate large sums of public money with totals running beyond hundreds of millions into billions without the charge that these allocations are dictated by political considerations. Social workers have not supported, and do not support, the charge that politics is in control. But discretionary grants of this kind are accidental, incidental, uncertain; and, of course, they are sometimes unwise. Such grants do not appear to follow any policy—at least, not any policy that the ordinary citizen or the ordinary social worker is able to understand.

No, we do not support these charges, but we do believe that a system of blanket appropriations left to the discretion of administrators is laying the whole system open to the charge of political influence, even if that is, in fact, not true. There may have been no time for careful planning, and discretionary grants may have been necessary in May, 1933, but they are not necessary in May, 1936, and they were not necessary in May, 1935, or even in May, 1934. One way out of the spoils system is for those in charge of welfare programs and welfare funds to avoid the appearance of distributing spoils.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

One of the difficulties in getting civil service, as in getting other reforms that must come by legislative action, has been that we have been slow in building up an organization to support our findings. As an organized professional group, we have had a very short history, and in the early days of our professional association—the A.A.S.W.—some of the members thought the new organization should exist only to protect our employment interests. This National Conference, rightly or wrongly, has jealously guarded its platform of discussion, from which no resolutions are ever allowed except thanks for such amenities as receptions, picnics, or automobile drives. More recently the state conferences have not followed this program.

But when the important question of federal aid was developing in the hearings before Congress, the weakness of our position was that many of our social workers said they represented only themselves, and even their board members were on the other side. Gradually the great issue of federal aid was adopted by social workers everywhere as the only way of protecting our clients, as the devastating effects of the depression were clearly visible from coast to coast.

This demand for federal aid in one relief crisis after another was the unifying cause that led us out of the wilderness of indecision, with the social-work group united as it had never been united before. And this cause is still with us and is still calling for support.

The stage is now set for a great political campaign. What is to be our policy? Surely it should not be a passive one. There are other groups supporting great causes that have important lessons for us. Labor presents its platform to every political convention, and we should do well here to follow labor's policy. In the old suffrage movement we asked support for our platform from every party. We did not, as an association, align ourselves with any political group, and suffrage came at last on a non-partisan basis with votes from both sides. The League of Women Voters follows this same policy today, and it has plans now

to present a civil service plank to every convention. We should instruct our professional organization, the A.A.S.W., to go before the resolutions committee of every political party and ask support for certain planks in the party platform about which we are all agreed. A civil service plank must go before every state convention. We should try for a permanent federal-aid policy that will give us a permanent home-assistance bureau. We should pledge every political party to broaden and extend the social-security program.

At the San Francisco Conference the position of the social workers in private agencies and their difficulties with disapproving board members were discussed, and we do not need to return to that question. Much water has flowed under the bridges since San Francisco, and if there was ever any question about the right of a social worker to stand for federal aid or any other professional policy, it is not questioned today. But this is not partisanship—this is professional support for questions of public welfare which, although they may require political decision, should remain non-partisan.

But the position of the workers in public agencies is different. They must avoid any course which makes charges of political use of the service impossible. They should be on civil service, but whether they are on a formal civil service list or not, they must follow the civil service rule and stay out of anything that can be called partisan activity. Otherwise there is no way out except the deadly rotation in office that follows a political campaign.

In the federal government the chief of the Children's Bureau, the surgeon-general, and various other bureau heads are not on civil service. Many of us are sorry that this is true. We should prefer to have our social-work group on the same status as the members of the scientific bureaus in the Department of Agriculture, all of whom are on a civil service basis. But our bureau chiefs, like the chief of the Children's Bureau, are administrative experts, and a precedent has been set for their retention during party changes, even if they are not on civil service. When

Julia C. Lathrop was appointed by President Taft, he appointed her as a child welfare expert. If she had become an active worker for his party, she would have been removed when the Democratic party came into power. The price to be paid for non-partisan service is non-partisanship. The only way to keep the public welfare services out of politics is for the staff members to stay out of politics. There is no other way. There is no reason at all why the federal relief administrator, or his administrative staff, should be political. They should be as non-political as these other bureau chiefs, so that there will be no question of removal when administrations change. It may seem a drab life in a year like this "to carry no banners and beat no drums," but this does not mean that they can take no position on technical problems—they can and should offer courageous leadership in their specialized field.

When we met at Atlantic City seventeen years ago Julia Lathrop was our president, and out of her rare experience in the public welfare services her prophetic vision saw only civil service or destruction. "Whoever," she said, "objects to civil service rules because he cannot discharge whom he likes, forgets that if the tenure protection of the law were removed, the appointment power would no longer be his, but only that of the winning side in a tug-of-war between the backers of rival candidates." In her own forthright way she urged us to a new "vigorous forward movement . . . to strengthen the merit system throughout the country," and she told us that if we would only stir the public imagination and our own, we should see "our drab and dusty words 'civil service' shine and glow as the title of the finest opportunity for service to the living force of a growing democracy."

Let me again remind you of another one of the early leaders in this field, that able and fearless woman, Josephine Shaw Lowell. Speaking at this Conference nearly forty years ago, she told her audience that civil service was "not a device for getting fairly good public officers"; it was, she said, "a means of salvation for our people." She thought that we needed throughout

our country "faith in the moral qualities upon which civil service is based—in justice, truth, honor, and duty." "The character of the people," she said, has been "sapped at the root" for four generations; and she thought that we needed, above all things, enthusiasm for the moral principles which make the "spoils" system an impossibility.

The social worker faces the political parties with new courage born of the new responsibilities which have come from the great programs for public social work that have been developed with federal aid in these last few years. But one of our most important responsibilities now is to protect these services from the spoilsmen.

The booming of the campaign guns is going on. If you listen, you can almost hear their deep reverberations; the rockets' red glare is on every horizon, east or west, north or south. There is no hope for social work in all of this unless the expert services, which are ours, are kept clearly outside these battle lines. We want the pledge from the politicians that in the hour of victory our public welfare services will not be used to reward their followers. These great services must be permanent and non-partisan so that they may be expanded and strengthened in the years to come.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND THE COMMON GOOD

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TO PAINT the existing state of world-affairs in roseate colors would serve no good purpose. There is nothing to be gained by refusing to face reality. Right now troops are on the move in Asia, and European generals are planning their campaigns for the next great war. The recent consultations between French and British military authorities were not concerned with peace parades. When France doubles the term of military service for her conscripts, when debt-burdened Britain resolves to spend one and one-half billions of dollars on immediate rearmament, when Mussolini keeps a million soldiers with the colors, when Communist Russia, the most extreme advocate of complete disarmament, increases her standing army from 562,000 to 1,300,000 and begins to enlist volunteers for blood transfusion in time of war, few intelligent observers will deny that several of the Great Powers are taking very seriously the possibility of war in the near future.

That fact is plainly evident, but its implications are often overlooked, especially its social and economic implications. War may be, for dictators, a path of glory, and for munition-makers it has indeed been a highway to profits, but for all those who seek social justice and charity, war presents a less attractive aspect. War is a cause of unemployment, poverty, and incalculable suffering. War is a threat to future social progress. My aim is to explain, as clearly as I can, how war has been a major cause of the very evils which social workers are striving to correct; second, how war threatens the future well-being of so-

ciety; and, finally, what hope there is of preventing war by transforming the present armed truce into a real and lasting peace.

First, let us consider war as a cause of the present economic crisis. It would be an exaggeration to claim that the world economic depression of the 1930's and all its attendant hardships were direct effects on the World War. I make no such claim. But I do believe, and I think other students will agree, that some of the chief economic maladjustments and national policies which are ordinarily cited as causes of the depression were either created by the war or aggravated by the war.

It was the war that created the intolerable burden of war debts and reparations—a burden that strained world-finances to the point of panic. It was the war that threw agriculture and industry out of joint by calling European workers to the front, thus checking European production for a time and thereby spurring American farmers and manufacturers to expand their output, only to find themselves facing overproduction and disaster when European soldiers returned to their farms and factories.

Moreover, if tariffs and trade barriers have been raised to dizzy heights, they were erected partly because the war had intensified the spirit—I almost said the delirium—of extreme nationalism, and partly because the financial and commercial chaos resulting from the war called for desperate measures of national defense. Not only tariffs, but import quotas, export licenses, exchange controls, embargoes, monopolies, and currency manipulations were among the devices by which nations sought to protect themselves. The result of such measures was a terrific loss of trade, an increase of world-poverty and unemployment, and a stimulus to economic imperialism.

Only by tracing such indirect chains of cause and effect can one gauge the tragic consequences of those midsummer days of 1914 when blundering diplomats and overconfident generals gave Europe's armies the order to march. Only by reflecting that the war was indirectly responsible for the distress of some

of the millions of unemployed workers who are now on our relief rolls in the United States, can we begin to understand how far-reaching are the terrific social repercussions of modern warfare. Professor Dickinson estimated it cost the United States \$200,000,000. And how much human suffering no one can measure.

If we are interested in social well-being, if we are trying not merely to find palliatives but to discover real remedies for the human suffering that is all around us, one of the chief evils that we must endeavor to extirpate is war, and one of the greatest contributions that we can make to the common good is the establishment of genuine, durable peace.

The thought I should like to emphasize is that, unless world-peace is firmly established on a sound basis, there can be no national security for America, and there can be no genuine social security within America. The social-security solution spoken of so eloquently can never be secured so long as the menace of war hangs over the future.

Now, what of the future? Many a prophet tells us that the next big war will be even more devastating. Certainly guns are more powerful, submarines are bigger, armies are being motorized, and all the principal nations are preparing frantically for air warfare on a grand scale. By a recent estimate twelve thousand planes are now ready to spread destruction over Europe, and the number is daily increasing. European cities are preparing for bombardment from the air, and bombardment will surely be attempted. The old rules of international law, protecting unfortified cities and shielding women and children and non-combatants, have been so flagrantly and so often violated since 1914 that we can hardly expect them to be honored now. The signs seem to indicate that the strategy of the next war will be less concerned with trench-digging and much more concerned with the scientific destruction of industrial centers. The consequences of such strategy cannot be predicted with certainty, nor can they be anticipated with complacency.

One aspect of the next great war may be predicted with a fair degree of confidence. If the war is destructive or expensive

enough to strain the already weakened and debt-burdened structure of contemporary capitalism, there will be a very favorable opportunity for Communist or Fascist revolutions. The war of 1918 enabled Communism to seize power over Russia, to master Hungary for a time, to invade and all but conquer Poland, to threaten Germany and Italy, and to induce paroxysms of apprehension in the minds of West European statesmen. The next war will find Lenin not exiled in Switzerland, but enthroned in the hearts of millions of Russian soldiers; it will find strong Communist parties in many countries and leaders who have learned that technique of revolution. The Soviets are reported to have the strongest air force, the largest standing army, and the most resolute leaders in Europe. Communist thinkers have predicted that the capitalist world would destroy itself through war. In practice the Russian government seeks most assiduously to avoid that event, and Communists are ardent advocates of peace; but if war should come, there can be little doubt that it would offer unexampled opportunities for the spread of Communism, not only in the countries that fight, but by way of contagion, in the nations that remain neutral. To my mind that would be an unspeakable tragedy.

Many attempts have been made to guess how soon the next war is coming. Some cheerful individuals think it will be many years. Some, more nervous, fear it is just around the corner. That is not pleasant. Just when it will come is not very safe to predict.

A few years ago political prophets thought the accession of Hitler would be the signal for war in 1933; others favored the year 1935, because France would then face a crisis in military man-power owing to the low birth-rate of the World War period. Mussolini predicted, nine years ago, that the "crucial point in European history" would fall between 1935 and 1940; another shrewd observer picks 1936 and 1937 as the perilous years. England seems to be preparing for a supreme challenge at an early date; Soviet Russia has been working feverishly, these past two years, to put her land and air forces in readiness for war

in the near future. With the wisdom of hindsight we now know that the predictions of a great war in 1933, in 1934, in 1935 did not come true. Moreover, recent events have given some comfort to those of us who hope that the prophecies of war for 1936 and 1937 will prove equally false. Hitler has emphatically repudiated any intention of conquest in Europe; Mussolini, having conquered Ethiopia, declares that Italy is now one of the satisfied powers, willing to work for peace. Not only did France fail to seize the moment, a year ago, when she might have crushed Germany, but in the elections this spring the French voters have given a majority to the Popular Front which favors peace and internationalism. The dangerous disputes between Poland and Germany over Danzig and the Polish corridor may not have been finally settled, but they have, at least, been put on the ice since 1934 by the Polish-German non-aggression pact. Readers familiar with diplomatic chicanery will doubtless be justified in taking a slightly skeptical attitude toward some of the lip-service which dictators and diplomats are now paying to peace. Yet it is possible on "realistic" grounds to hope that before the next great war we may still have a year, or two, or even several years of the present armed truce. While the truce continues, we still have opportunity to strive for peaceful solution of the problems which have brought us so close to disaster.

That the League of Nations has not yet found the solution seems to be popularly conceded, especially since the League's sanctions have failed to halt Mussolini's troops or to protect Ethiopia from conquest. Hardly less tragic was the failure of the League, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the Nine-Power Treaty, and Colonel Stimson's remonstrances to check Japan's military imperialism in Manchuria and North China. The long continued Chaco war in South America was particularly significant as a proof of the weakness not only of the Covenant but of our Pan-American pacts. The moral breakdown has gone so far that even the traditional doctrine of the sanctity of treaties—*pacta sunt servanda*—is now flouted. Hitler's cool violation of the Versailles Treaty in 1935 and of the celebrated Locarno

Pact in 1936 was roundly condemned by resolutions of the League Council; but treaty violations succeeded so well that presently the British Foreign Office very politely inquired just what other treaty clauses the German government intended to scrap.

Peace pacts, the Covenant, and even the principles of traditional international law have shown signs of collapse under the stress of the extreme nationalism and violent imperialism of these last years. If the collapse is definitive, it may prove to be a turning point in history. Through several centuries of modern history one can trace the development of nationalism, imperialism, and the technique of scientific, industrialized warfare, until a climax was reached in 1914. The World War was unique in the magnitude of its devastating effects. By its unprecedented destructiveness the war provoked an equally unprecedented peace movement. Great wars have often been followed by pacifist reactions, but never before had there been anything to compare with the post-war peace drive. Taken all together, the League Covenant, the World Court, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Pact, the Pan-American peace agreements, the Four-Power Pacific Pact, the Nine-Power Treaty on China, the attempt to federate Europe, the disarmament conferences, the proposals for an Eastern Locarno, the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, and a remarkable network of minor arbitration and non-aggression treaties may be fairly described as an unparalleled attempt of statesmanship to set up a new world-order of peace on the basis of ethical principles.

In the actual conduct of diplomacy, and still more in public opinion, an astonishing change occurred after 1918. It was almost an ethical revolution. Backward races had always been the prey of the powers, but now they were admitted to the League of Nations as equals, and their independence was guaranteed by the Covenant. In the rough-and-tumble days of pre-war imperialism it was permissible for a British government to threaten China with war unless certain railroad contracts were granted to British firms. That actually happened. China grant-

ed the contracts. But under the new ethics of the 1920's, gun-boat methods of supersalesmanship were held to be immoral. Back in the gay nineties Theodore Roosevelt probably felt no pricking of conscience when he wrote to Senator Lodge, "This country needs a war," nor was he ashamed to declare that a war with Spain would be beneficial to "our military forces by trying both the Army and Navy in actual practise."¹ Compare those sentiments with the utterances of Franklin Roosevelt, and the ethical gulf between them is evident. The old conception of war as the right of every sovereign state, the most glorious expression of patriotism, the highest function of statesmanship, the proper means of healthy national expansion, the habit of every virile nation, the natural method of evolution for the selection of the fittest—all this was repudiated both by statesmen and by peace societies in the hopeful 1920's. Under the new dispensation war of conquest and war of policy were condemned as crimes. Defensive war and collective action against an aggressor were still to be permitted, but if all nations respected their pledges against unjust war, there would no longer be need for self-defense or for sanctions. War of all kinds would be ended absolutely and forever. Armaments would be reduced toward the vanishing point. Arbitration, conciliation, and a World Court would substitute right for might among the nations.

Has post-war diplomacy failed to achieve this goal because of some fatal predilection of mankind for mass murder, or because the League was in some way defective, or because the methods were clumsy, or because the ethical principles underlying the whole endeavor were essentially mistaken? The notion that all men are born with an instinct to wear gas masks and operate tanks seems somewhat fantastic. About the defects of the League and of diplomatic procedure much could be said, but not here. The basic problem is the question of principle. Methods and techniques could be improved, if we were only sure of the purpose.

¹ Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 167, 176.

What is our purpose? Is it peace or justice? France opposes peace on the basis of *status quo*. Italy, Germany, Japan, Hungary, say justice must come first. Are so-called "have-not" nations justified? On the other hand, are the satisfied powers justified to change the rules? France, having revised the map of Europe, now says no more revision. England, having taken the lion's share of colonies, and the United States, having appropriated partly by purchase but partly by war what is probably the richest area in the world, now expect other nations to be content. We have won our independence by war—is that privilege now to be denied to peoples that still live in subjection? Not easy questions. Just how difficult it is, may be illustrated.

In a novel by H. G. Wells, the amiable Mr. Britling thought he could draw an ideal map for the world, giving self-government to each separate race or nationality. Perhaps that can be done in a novel, but at Paris in 1919 we discovered that it could not be done in a peace conference.

There is no ideal map. Mussolini once declared that the northern frontier of Italy, along the Alpine crest, was traced by the finger of God. Such theological cartography is exceedingly rare, and human map-making will remain very unsatisfactory until we can move mountains and rivers to the right places and persuade people not to live in the wrong places. Where races are inextricably entangled, as in Macedonia, Bessarabia, Transylvania, or Upper Silesia, scientific frontiers can be drawn only in the fourth dimension.

Still more baffling is our lack of agreement on any single standard of self-determination. Instead of any one criterion, there are almost a dozen in common use and rarely in agreement—language, race, religion, geography, culture, history, political ideals, economics, social customs, treaty rights, the will of the people, and so on. At the Paris Peace Conference the Czech delegation claimed and obtained Bohemia on historic grounds, Slovakia on linguistic grounds in defiance of history, and other regions on economic grounds, disregarding both language and history. I could cite a great number of similar instances, but I

know of only one case in which all the divergent criteria of national self-determination were brought into perfect focus. The memorandum submitted by the Ukrainians to the Paris Peace Conference was a veritable masterpiece, for it demonstrated incontrovertibly that not only language, history, and economics, but geology, botany, geography, anthropology, psychology, literature, and a special fondness for trees and flowers all marked the Ukraine for national independence. Nevertheless, Ukrainian nationalism is now submerged under Russian Communism.

If every group of people with a distinct language, or some other badge of nationality, is to have the right of self-determination, our Mr. Britling will carve out of Spain a Basque republic and a free Catalonia, emancipate Brittany from France (there is, actually, a Breton nationalist movement), separate the Flemings from the Walloons in Belgium (as Germany contemplated twenty years ago), sever Slovakia and Ruthenia from Czechoslovakia, trisect Switzerland, send ambassadors to Malta, and split the Soviet Union into 182 new nations. In Asia there must be a Bismarck for Burma, a Korean Cavour, a Malay Masaryk, and daughters of many an Asiatic revolution.

I realize that I have drawn a lurid picture. Let us try, for a moment, to be less logical and more practical. Isn't a more modest program possible? Remedy a few of the worst grievances; perhaps simply revise the peace treaties?

When you come to grips with the facts, it is not quite as simple as it sounds. One scarcely knows where to begin. A few years ago many of us would have begun with Danzig and the Polish corridor. It was a very sore spot, but when in January, 1934, Poland and Germany signed their pact, the situation was transformed as if by magic, or by masterly control of propaganda. Other situations have changed, too—Memel, for instance, and Austria, and Bessarabia, or to go farther back, the Ulster boundary. Public policy and popular psychology are as important as race and geography in determining the direction of irredentism.

Because the psychological factor is so strong, frontier feuds might conceivably be made less bitter if frontiers could be made less important. That is to say, liberal treatment of minorities, lower trade barriers, and more internationalism would materially reduce emotional friction. Perhaps these will prove to be ultimately the best solutions.

For the time being, however, by any realistic appraisal the minorities treaties have failed to produce peace, economic internationalism has declined, and several sore spots in Europe are badly inflamed. As Count Bethlen of Hungary suggests, "the operating knife" may be needed. It would be the part of wise statesmanship, in my opinion, to hold plebiscites in Danzig, in the border districts claimed by Hungary, in Eupen and Malmédy, and perhaps in a few other areas, not because these are the largest irredentas, but because they might offer the least difficult complications. A few well-chosen concessions might ease the dangerous tension and encourage a more conciliatory attitude toward other conflicts of interest.

In offering this thesis I am not unmindful of the danger that any alteration of the map may excite hopes and fears all over the Continent. Nor am I yet convinced that a general revision of the atlas, or a universal resort to plebiscites in every territorial dispute, would be either possible or expedient.

The non-territorial provisions of the peace treaties might also be revised. The Covenant has been amended, the reparation clauses virtually canceled, the penal clauses evaded, the disarmament clauses denounced, the guarantee clauses allowed to lapse. Revision is well under way and will undoubtedly go farther. Some of the discriminatory economic and financial clauses have expired, others will have to be reconsidered. Some day the war guilt clause should be struck off the record; it was never judicious. The Covenant and the constitution of the International Labor Organization might well be separated from the peace treaties. Turkey is now asking the right to fortify the Straits; a new deal on mandates cannot be long delayed; and some day Austria may wish permission to join Germany. On

these points the former Allies have little to gain, I think, and much to lose, by opposing revision.

I have discussed this problem from the standpoint of political expediency. But I think we would arrive more directly at the same conclusions if we approached it from the standpoint of ethical principle. The reason why the peace treaties have not given us peace, the reason why they still stand in the way of peace, is that they violated justice. And one of the most essential methods of promoting peace is to remove the obstacles set up by injustice. The whole matter was very briefly and very wisely summarized many centuries ago by a great philosopher—and to me he is the greatest of philosophers, St. Thomas Aquinas—when he wrote: "Peace is the work of justice indirectly, in so far as justice removes the obstacles to peace; but it is the work of charity directly, since charity according to its very nature causes peace."

As Pope Benedict so prophetically observed: "Every kind of peace is unstable, all treaties are inefficacious . . . as long as a reconciliation inspired by mutual charity does not put an end to hatred and enmity."

I hope you will not think it is unrealistic if I say that justice and charity are the true solutions. The more I study diplomacy, the more I am convinced that what we need in world-affairs is not more cynical *Realpolitik*, but more ethics and more justice and more charity.

There are many Americans, I realize—and some of them very distinguished Americans—who believe that justice and charity should be practiced at home, in the United States, or at most in Pan-America. Many are attracted by the vision of a prosperous America, maintaining a high standard of living at home, surrounding itself with insurmountable tariff walls, making no foreign loans and doing a minimum of foreign trade, defending its wealth with an invincible navy, and complacently watching other nations indulge in the insanity of wars and conquests. Some of our national legislators even go so far as to believe that

by an act of Congress we can predestine ourselves to perpetual neutrality. Frankly, I think this vision of an isolated American Utopia is an economic mirage. That it is a mirage I cannot prove without statistics, and I do not wish to inflict statistics upon you. But more important than any statistics are the ethical principles which are involved in this attitude. Can justice and charity at home be reconciled with an utter indifference to justice and charity as regards our international neighbors? If our charity, beginning at home, stops short at the first frontier, is it really charity, or is it selfish nationalism? If our justice is content, like Pontius Pilate, to wash its hands in prudent aloofness, is it truly justice or something less courageous?

By substituting neutrality and self-interest for justice and charity, we may unwittingly follow the easy road to moral suicide. But not only to moral suicide. Apart from ethics, there is real danger that in pursuing false conceptions of self-interest as a nation, we may commit business suicide by cutting off our foreign trade, agricultural suicide by preventing our farmers from marketing their export crops, and political suicide by failing to prevent war and revolution.

The prevention of war is one of those neat phrases that cover a multitude of whims. Innumerable magic formulas have been offered to the public, and none has passed the laboratory test. At present, in America, neutrality is the catchword; but our present neutrality legislation is the flimsiest of defenses against war. A few years ago the Kellogg Pact inspired hope, and it was indeed a noble gesture, but it did not prevent war. Pan-American peace pacts are soon to be the order of the day. They may be of real value in keeping peace in the New World—and we have not been very successful in that respect. Still the danger of entanglement in Asiatic or in European conflicts will persist as long as there are wars in Asia or in Europe.

The most useful method of preserving peace, so far as I have been able to judge by reading recent history, is the League of Nations. It is the fashion to say that the League has failed.

That is true, but it is only half the truth. The League has succeeded amazingly well in its moral function of detecting and condemning aggressors, even when they are reckless Great Powers like Japan and Italy. The failure has been in the application of sanctions. The League can pass judgment, but it cannot enforce the verdict. The members of the League have refused to apply military sanctions. And they have failed to make their economic sanctions effective, up to the present. We should be lacking in honesty toward ourselves if we did not recognize that the policy of the United States has been a very real obstacle to the application of economic blockades against nations which disturb the peace. So long as the United States refuses to co-operate in economic measures against nations that resort unjustly to war, the League of Nations must either resort to military force or accept failure.

If the United States should ever become fully aware of the importance of preventing war and decide to co-operate in economic sanctions whenever we freely agreed with the League's verdict, the whole picture would be changed. There would then be a real possibility of curbing the warlike impulses of any small nation, and even of certain Great Powers. Perhaps Russia, or Japan, or the British Empire, or France could resist a blockade. Economic sanctions are not a panacea; they might fail in some cases, but they could be very helpful in many instances.

Something more than sanctions will be needed, if peace is to be real and just and permanent. It is difficult to imagine permanent peace in Europe without some revision of the frontiers drawn at the Paris Peace Conference. We can scarcely expect Germany to forget the seizure of her colonies by France and England. Still more important are the economic grievances which have given Japan and Italy pretexts if not reasons for wars of conquest. Trade barriers, monetary problems, and fierce international competition have compelled poor nations to choose between poverty and conquest. Conquest is not likely to solve the problem. No practicable scheme for redistributing

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colonies or raw materials has yet been proposed. Perhaps the tension can be relieved by the gradual lowering of trade barriers through treaties such as those which Secretary Hull has been negotiating with such notable success. In the last analysis, however, the economic causes of war will remain, and the menace of war will continue to overshadow the common good, until the great nations of the world revise their policies in accordance with the ethical principle that all nations have an equal right both to life and to prosperity.

THE CRISIS OF PEACE

*Henry Wickham Steed, Former Editor, London
Times, London, England*

FOR more than twenty years my thoughts have dwelt on one problem which, in reality, is two problems: How can war be prevented and how can peace be created? It took me some time to see clearly that the prevention of war and the creation of peace are two very different things, and that to talk of "peace" when we mean only "a state of non-war" is misleading. In a way the two things are harnessed together, as a horse may be to a cart; but it is important to know which is the horse and which the cart.

I think the creation of peace is the horse and the prevention of war is the cart. I think so for this reason—that the creation of peace "pulls," or might pull if it were rightly understood, whereas the prevention of war does not and, in my opinion, never will "pull" by itself.

I think also that if today we see the world in greater danger of war than it has been since July, 1914, it is chiefly because so many of us have mistaken the cart for the horse and have persisted in putting the horse behind the cart.

It was on the battlefield near Verdun, at the beginning of March, 1916, that I began to feel deeply about war and peace. The spectacle was magnificent and horrible; yet what struck me most was neither its magnificence nor its horror but its stupidity. Here were some of the finest men of two great nations, France and Germany, each at or near the top of our so-called "civilization," smashing one another to bits with the most powerful engines of destruction that human brains had been able to devise. Nothing more stupid could well be imagined. So I began to ask myself "Why?"; and today, in this crisis of peace, I am

still putting the same question to others, because I think I have found a preliminary answer to it.

As I have said, the first part of the answer is that we have put the cart before the horse or, to vary the metaphor, we have set ourselves to build the top floors and the roof of a non-war skyscraper without laying its foundation. We have sought to outlaw war, to make it illegal, and to persuade ourselves that the real question is whether law or lawlessness shall prevail in the world. And we have fallen into the error of imagining that law can have force and authority merely because it has been enacted and proclaimed.

The truth, as I see it, is that, by itself, law has no intrinsic force. Unless citizens feel a law to be right and good, and are ready to back it up at all costs, it may quickly fall into contempt. When, however, the civic sense of a community is strong and stands behind a law so framed as to express that sense, the law and the authority of the courts which administer it are irresistible.

I assume that the people of the United States do not now need to be persuaded of this truth. If they do, let them remember the story of the Eighteenth Amendment to their Constitution. So it is with nations and non-war. If ever the civic sense of an international community stands behind the outlawry of war, mankind will be able to treat war-makers as bandits and to uphold the law against them. Until then we shall not get a lasting state of non-war, let alone peace.

The fact is that most of our notions about war and peace are lopsided. For countless ages men have thought about war, studied it, waged it, and hated it. Not a few of them fancied that to hate war is the same thing as to love peace; yet they never gave to peace a hundredth part of the thought they gave to war. Even today most people assume that if they give mental assent to a proposition—such as the proposition that war is destructive and horrible and ought to be got rid of—they have made up their minds about it. But people's minds are not really made up until they feel compelled to act upon their ideas; and

this does not happen, as a rule, until something hits them in the face.

For years before that March day in 1916 I had seen the World War coming and had hated the thought of it. So far as in me lay I had worked to prevent it by warning my fellow-countrymen that it was coming, how it would come, and how it could be stopped. I wanted Great Britain to declare in good time, and to be ready and able to act upon her declaration, that no power in Europe must count upon her standing aside if that power should make war. The British government of 1914 could not be brought to do this. It was not sure that the sense of the community would support it. So Germany and Austria-Hungary gambled on British neutrality—and the World War came.

During and after the World War the principal allied and associated nations thought that they had made up their minds to prevent war in future. They meant it to be "a war to end war." Many of their statesmen and leaders expressed this intention, none more clearly and forcefully than President Wilson. When he and his fellow-statesmen got down to business at the Paris Peace Conference and began to draft a constitution, or a covenant, for a league of nations, they soon found—as President Wilson put it—that in the league there must be no room for neutrality or standing aside. And on this basic condition the League of Nations was founded.

I hold no brief for President Wilson. He was fallible, as all human beings are. He made several avoidable mistakes, some of which help to explain why the United States Senate decided not to ratify the peace treaties or to enter the League. But that decision revived the old bugbear of American neutrality and checked the growth of a community sense against war among the nations. It looked as though the United States might claim neutral rights against the League if its members should take action in restraint of a covenant-breaker; and this possibility frightened British statesmen and made them hesitate to back the League whole-heartedly.

Maybe they were not sorry to be frightened. Few of them had thought deeply upon war and peace. They were not eager

to pull their full weight in an international community. So they hesitated—and threw the blame for their hesitations upon the United States as a sort of scapegoat. Even when President Coolidge and Mr. Frank B. Kellogg put forward their proposals for the renunciation of war at the end of December, 1927, the British government looked askance at them and insisted upon putting several reservations into the Pact of Paris, or Briand-Kellogg Pact, for the renunciation of war, which was signed in Paris on August 27, 1928.

Then British statesmen and British pacifists—like those of some other countries—began to extol disarmament as the high-road to peace. Once again they had not thought the matter out. When France and some other countries said to them "If we disarm, and somebody attacks us, will you come to our help?" Great Britain answered in effect "Wait and see!" The other countries felt that this was not good enough and kept up their armaments to a point at which they could feel fairly safe.

Suddenly, on September 18, 1931, Japan attacked China in Manchuria. Both Great Britain and France looked the other way and would pay no heed to Secretary Stimson's appeals for a joint warning to Japan. When the Disarmament Conference was about to meet at Geneva on February 2, 1932, its opening had actually to be postponed while the League council "considered" the Japanese assault upon Shanghai. It was seen that the great powers of the League would not, perhaps could not, stand up to a strong aggressive power in defense of the covenant.

So things ran their course with inexorable logic. Since the League could not give its members security against attack and since there could be no disarmament without security, the Disarmament Conference went from failure to failure and ended miserably. Therefore Fascist Italy, strongly armed and in need of glory, prepared to subdue Abyssinia, in the sure and certain hope that where Japan had got off scot free Italy would enjoy equal impunity.

Germany, too, was rearming, and under Adolf Hitler's leadership was training millions of her youth for war. Great Britain

began to feel anxious. Her foreign policy was, her statesmen said, based on the League covenant. If Italy should "get away with it" as Japan had done, the League and the hopes placed in it might be doomed. If Italy could be checked, the League would be strengthened, Nazi Germany would be reminded that armed force is not always law, and the way might be open to an agreed settlement in Europe.

Yet Italy went ahead—with the secret backing of France. Under British leadership the League applied some mitigated economic "sanctions" against Italian aggression. Hitler showed anxiety lest even these mild measures avail to restrain Mussolini. Then France proposed, and the British government agreed, to betray this work of restraint and to offer Italy more than half her prospective victim's territory as the price of "peace."

Against this betrayal British public feeling revolted so fiercely that the foreign secretary was driven from office and the whole government was shaken. But the harm done could not be undone. Mussolini determined to break Abyssinian resistance with mustard gas before the great rains should hold up his forces. He began by bombing all European Red Cross units so that there might be no white witnesses of his crime. Blistered and blinded, Abyssinia's armies broke and fled. Now Italy's king calls himself emperor of Abyssinia, while the rightful emperor, "Lion of Judah," meditates not far from the Garden of Gethsemane.

What next? No man can say. We know only that the crisis of non-war, misnamed "peace," is upon us and upon the world. We see that the laws we thought had been made against war are brought into contempt for lack of a community sense among the nations which deem themselves civilized. And it has become commonplace to say that "the next war will destroy civilization."

In the twenty years of my thinking upon war and peace I have not been able to reach a conviction that the nations of the world will be fit for peace on the hither side of another major catastrophe. The question is still open. It need not, I believe, be answered in the negative, though it is hard to see how it can

yet be answered in the affirmative. I am assured by those who study these matters that, even today and without counting the United States, the armed forces which still stand for non-war in Europe are twice as strong as those of the countries that are pursuing war policies, and that in potential resources the non-war countries are five times as strong as the others. Thus, on paper, it looks as though the risk of war-making might deter the partisans of aggression, if those risks were made plain betimes. There may still be a chance to uphold, for a space, the precarious state of non-war that goes by the name of peace.

Yet of one thing I am profoundly convinced. The nations will not be ready to bear the burdens and to make the sacrifices which the bolstering-up of non-war must entail unless they have before them a clear vision of what peace would be, and desire to make that vision a reality. When, if ever, they set their hearts and minds upon the creation of peace—which will be a more difficult and perhaps a more dangerous task than the prevention of war—they will find that they must merge their wealth and their resources, their unlimited sovereignties and their neutralities, in willing service to mankind conceived as a living international community. They must have an ideal of a vital, dynamic, progressive peace which shall be compounded of unstinted international helpfulness without thought of individual reward. National “rights” will have to be subordinated to international duties. The whole sense of the international community must run effectively against wrongdoers so that the laws which express that sense can be vindicated. Then men may see what peace will really mean, and may wonder at the stupidity which so long enslaved them to hideous war.

We have not yet reached this point, not by a long way. Men and nations—or what is left of them—may need another, and perhaps more than one, bitter lesson before they reach it. Still, if the straight and narrow path be plain and the goal in sight, they may find the wit and the pluck to turn their steps toward it. That this may be so is the hope which sustains me in the present crisis of peace.

WHAT PRICE NATIONAL SECURITY?

*Solomon Lowenstein, Executive Vice-President, Federation
for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic
Societies, New York City*

I AM convinced that for social workers national security is the most important immediate question facing us in our work and that it would behoove all of us to familiarize ourselves not only with the present federal and state legislation on the various aspects of this question in our own country but also with its history in those European lands where it has existed for decades; that we may learn from their experience as to the wisdom of our own enactments; that we may endeavor to determine what differentiation in procedure is necessary here because of different conditions; to what extent our own present legislation is valid and to what extent it is defective; and to endeavor to correct those defects as soon as may be possible.

First of all, I should like to say that we ought to give full measure of praise to those responsible for security legislation, to recognize that, even if it be only a first step, it is a very real first step and a long one in the right direction and that we should not be so naïve as to imagine that the criticisms which may be applied to our present laws were not made known at the time that the legislation was pending and given fair consideration.

The problem is so immense by reason of the large number of individuals to be covered, the diversity of interest in the various sections of the country, and the different needs manifesting themselves in those sections; and the attempt, no matter how well intentioned it was, to cover so many different subjects in one law necessarily created problems that could not be expected to be met with satisfaction in this initial legislation. Neverthe-

less, we cannot be oblivious to those defects or fail to make every effort to remedy them at the earliest possible moment. Above all, they are not to be waived aside; some of these defects in the present legislation appear to be real and valid, and require definite correction.

The limitations of this paper do not permit a careful examination of these various real defects, and I shall confine myself to a somewhat casual statement only, referring my readers for more careful discussion to such volumes on the subject as those by Professor Burns, Professor Douglas, and Mr. Abraham Epstein, and to the vast amount of current literature available on the subject.

First, I would call attention to the complete lack of compulsory standards insuring decent and healthful living for those to benefit from these enactments; the fact that the law compels no standards of eligibility for personnel whatsoever but leaves the determination of this important question, vital to the proper administration of the National Security Act, to each state to decide for itself; the fact that while state-wide bodies are provided for administration there is no assurance that counties within the state will provide sums adequate to meet the requirements of the law; the possibilities inherent in various sections of these acts for the states themselves to decrease their own expenses for social services already inaugurated by means of the grants to be received under these laws but not in any way to improve the service rendered.

Attention should also be called to the variations possible in the waiting time required before unemployment compensation shall become available, and the lack of control of the amount of such compensation and of the period during which it shall be paid. Attention should be called to the inadequate amounts that will be realized from the system of old age annuities ranging from \$10 to \$85 maximum per month, the latter amount probably rarely to be reached, and requiring an average rate of earning of \$2,000 per annum for a very long period so that it is quite possible under the present plan that an aged couple eligi-

ble for ordinary old age relief might fare better in terms of actual payment than a similar couple deriving their old age support from the pensions toward which they had paid.

In the desire to make the old age scheme self-sustaining it contemplates fantastic reserves amounting to from forty-six to forty-seven billions of dollars by 1980, a sum so huge as to create the greatest difficulties with respect to proper investment, its effect on the money market generally, and the temptation that it would offer to extravagant expenditures by Congress. The only hopeful feature with regard to this item seems to be the general belief that it will never be allowed to be realized.

A most important omission from the present legislation, owing to causes generally well known but too intricate for exploration here, is the total failure to provide for any plan of health insurance, which is basic in all other social-security plans adopted in any of the European countries and which forms one of the most helpful of the administrative factors of the whole scheme.

Well-known recent studies of the cause of illness in America have brought this question home directly to all of us, and this must be the first objective in a rectification of the errors of omission of the present legislation.

Another feature of the law that must be given serious consideration is the large number of exemptions from the operation of the Act—agricultural and domestic labor, self-employed persons, migratory and casual workers, government employees, etc. For some of these administrative difficulties another satisfactory explanation can be adduced, but there is no question that these exemptions must be given more careful consideration and modification in order to avoid real injustices. We social workers owe it as a special obligation to our own self-respect to see to it that whatever influence we have is put behind the effort to remove from the list of exempted classes those persons employed by the non-profit-making organizations of which we are a part.

In examining these matters more closely it would appear

that, apart from such important incidental instances as administrative difficulties, the interference with the normal flow of capital, the incidence of taxation, and the flexibility of our present social and industrial system, two factors stand out as primarily responsible for these errors of commission and omission: first, the doctrine of states' rights, and, second, the all-important question of financing these benefits, viz., who is to pay the price of this security.

Here, it seems to me, we have some real indication as to the reason for the phrasing of the title of this paper, viz., in terms of "national" rather than "social" security. For undoubtedly it was the difficulty involved in the relationship between the federal government and the states, the careful consideration of states' rights, that accounts for the failure to provide one federal system of unemployment insurance rather than throwing the whole matter back into each state for separate determination. Undoubtedly it was unwillingness to face the question of who should pay for these admittedly necessary benefits that was responsible for an insistence upon the self-sustaining principle resulting in no federal contributions to the unemployment and old age annuity plans. Therefore, there resulted the use of the device of pay-roll and wage taxes, thus making it possible for the employer to pass on his portion of the tax to the consumer, resulting in increased cost of living and lower standard of wages for the worker, who not only has to share his part in the increased cost of the articles he consumes but also reduces his own wages by the payment of his portion of the old age security plan. For no one can doubt that the natural passing-on of the employer's part of the tax in the form of a disguised sales tax will undoubtedly result in making "the poor pay for the poor," and, in the case of the old age benefits, the "young carrying the cost of the aged."

Undoubtedly, too, this consideration of cost was at least partly responsible for the failure to include along with the present form of unemployment insurance some positive aid of a self-respecting character to the presently unemployed by de-

vising some consistent and permanent plan of either work or direct relief.

All these questions involve problems of national security even greater and further reaching than those of social security, large as they may be, involved in the present program of unemployment and old age relief, child care, public health, and other services.

The founders of our form of government thought in terms of liberty, equality, and justice as expressed in political democracy as the best means of preserving individual, human, and personal rights and opportunities. Today we are observing a national holiday in memory of men who gave their lives as testimony of belief in the permanent validity of these ideals. The country has grown from the original thirteen seaboard colonies to spread over a large part of the vast continent. The frontier has been overcome and vanished. A predominantly agricultural society has become largely industrial, with a rapid development of mass production and technological advances involving social, economic, and industrial problems unknown to our forefathers. I am convinced that the majority of the American people are still true to the old ideals and still believe that of all methods of government thus far tried by mankind the democratic form which we have evolved is the best suited to the development of the highest qualities of individual living in a safe community.

I am assured in my own mind that the majority of Americans have neither use nor desire for dictatorships either of the Right or of the Left but that the democracy which they wish and demand must be a real democracy based on full freedom of thought and expression, of press and of speech, with right to protest against every violation of those civil liberties assured to us by our Constitution. They will have no tolerance of the denial of those civil liberties, instances of which have degraded us to the level of the lowest of the Fascist dictatorships, and they will not tolerate that every man, no matter how liberal, who protests against these denials, shall be stigmatized as a Red, an agitator, or a demagogue. They will not endure discriminations

on the basis of creed, color, or race. They will demand a recognition of the right of labor to organize as it sees fit in accordance with the law of the land and to choose its own spokesman to negotiate for it in achieving its fair share in the common product of industry. Above all, they will have no thought of an inevitable business cycle necessarily entailing a return of the misery and agony and loss of morale that have characterized these last six years. They will be impressed by the facts clearly implicit in the distribution of wealth and profits indicated by the regularly published statements of income-tax returns and of such documentation as is provided by the Brookings Institute's study of *America's Capacity To Consume*. They have noted the current increase of corporation profits and the general improvement in business conditions alongside the continuation of huge numbers of unemployed and still heavily swollen relief rolls. They are convinced that somewhere in this picture the government which represents them must intervene to bring about a better distribution of wealth and a real provision of security.

So we find ourselves back where we began. We realize that these questions of social security and national security are interchangeable; that the government must use its power of taxation to right these inequalities, and that it cannot be permanently prevented from exercising this power by highly legalistic judicial decisions based upon an interpretation of the Constitution no longer applicable to present conditions. Our people will agree that reasonable profits must be assured to industry and to those responsible for its direction as a stimulus and reward for integrity, industry, intelligence, and efficiency in management, but that beyond this reasonable profit the government's power of taxation must be used with respect to incomes, to inheritances, to profits, and to surpluses so as to make possible a real program of social security in all the fields included in the present legislation, plus that of health insurance. And because they are convinced that the federal government alone can effectively apportion, levy, and collect these taxes, a new relationship must be worked out under the present Constitution, if possible, or by its

amendment, if necessary, whereby the respective state and federal powers may reflect present-day conditions and needs so that the federal government may do those things that are nation-wide in their application and that the states with due authority may continue to be the units of administration.

This process cannot be rapid, and we must not repeat the mistake made in the present security legislation to attempt to telescope everything in one bill and at one time. We must have long and full discussion. Errors undoubtedly will continue to be made because to err is human, but that is the price of democracy. Dictatorships may make sharp and immediate decision, but the probability of error is greater, and we prefer the ways of democracy. Our people are patient. The lessons of the last six years are indubitable proof thereof. They are tolerant and understanding of honest error if they are convinced that the direction is right, and so today we pray for those to whom the people have intrusted and will intrust the power to rule that they may have the strength and the wisdom and the courage to find true national security in consonance with the justice, freedom, and equality of the traditional American way of life.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

*Read by Stanley Reed, Solicitor General, Department
of Justice, Washington, D.C.*

HYDE PARK, N.Y.
May 23, 1936

MY DEAR MONSIGNOR KEEGAN:

It is with sincere regret that I find myself unable to be at the 1936 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. I have great concern for the work of social welfare agencies and the efforts of social workers to make this country a more neighborly place in which to live. Cognizant, therefore, of the value of your deliberations and proceedings, let me assure you of my deep interest in the high purposes for which you are convened.

The National Conference of Social Work is indeed an expression of the social conscience of America. Its members have consecrated their lives to the bringing about of a better social order wherein men and women shall have greater opportunity to enjoy the blessings of life. Many of us are accustomed to appealing for the cause of humanity. Let us remember that humanity is not society; humanity is just plain folks. Some of our so-called leaders have made the mistake of looking upon men and women as economic and social units. Logically, therefore, they speak of men and women as individuals, just as they would of other things—of animals or plants or atoms.

In matters of social welfare we should keep sight of the fact that we are not dealing with "units," "individuals" or with "economic men." We are dealing with persons. Human personality is something sacred. It enjoys the light of reason and liberty. It grows by rising above material things and wedding itself

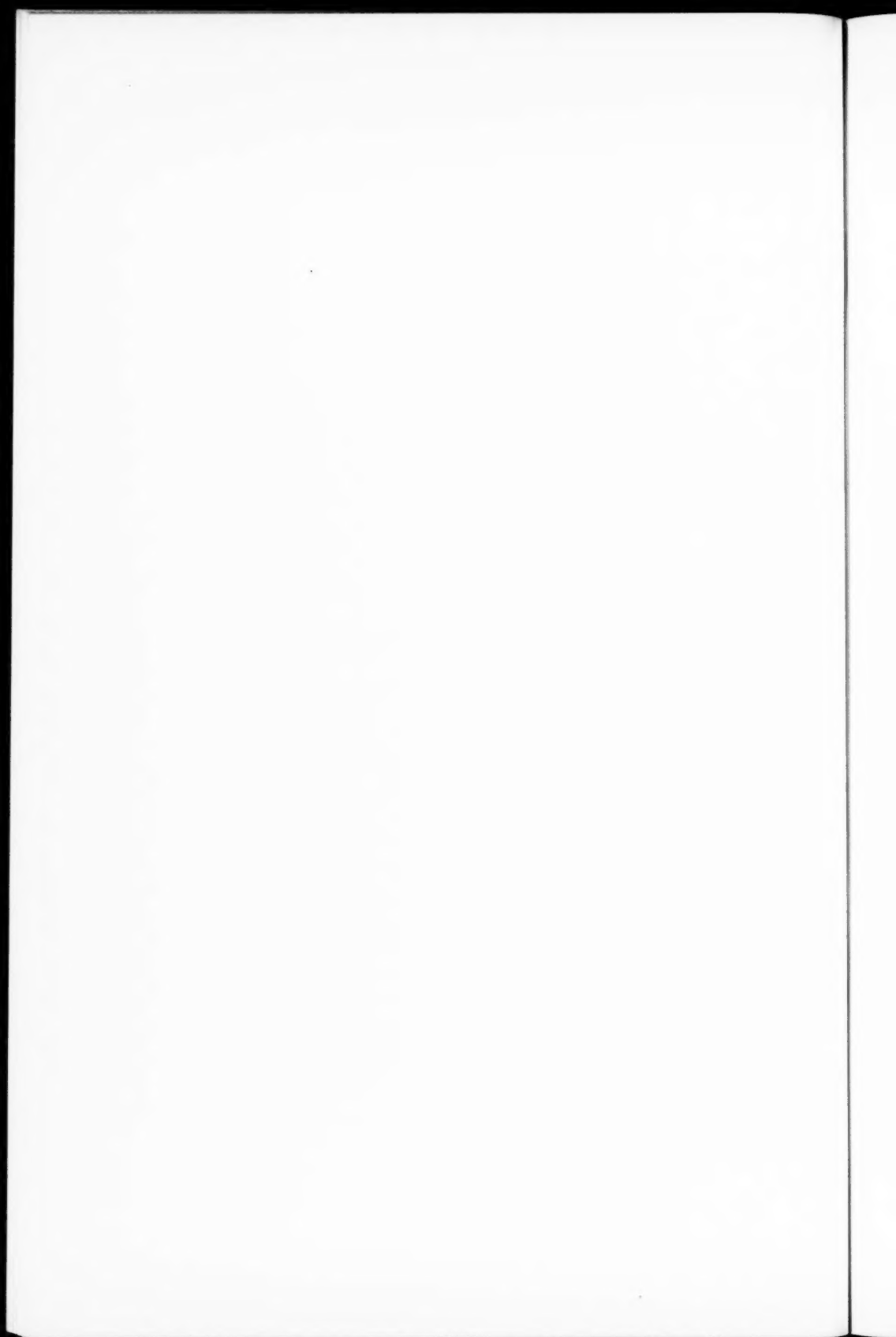
to spiritual ideals. Our social order is worthy of human beings only in so far as it recognizes the inherent value of human personality. Our cities, our states and our nations exist not for themselves but for men and women. We cannot be satisfied with any form of society in which human personality is submerged.

To you as President of the Conference and to all who participate I send my deepest and most heartfelt congratulations.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signed] FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

SECTION MEETINGS



SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL WORK

*Frank J. Bruno, Director, George Warren Brown
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IF I may follow the method of my craft, I should like to analyze the concept of social security into three parts, with only one of which can we be concerned in this paper. Not because they all are not of great importance, but because of the limitations placed upon me.

a) We might discuss economic security: that assurance which every worker hopes to win by his labor, an assurance upon which he knows a good deal of his success as husband and as father depends. It is this sort of security which devices such as collective bargaining, the minimum wage, the family wage, social insurance, and a socialized relief program attempt to provide, and which we in the United States are very far from reaching. Our general standard of living is relatively high, probably the highest in the world, but the economic security of our workers is the lowest of any industrial country on earth. There are today more unemployed in the United States than in all of Europe;¹ and, unlike the unemployed in these other nations, ours are unprotected by any plan of social insurance or even the most primitive assurance of relief. No other civilized nation exposes its workers to such a degree of economic defenselessness.

b) Or we might take up the term "security" or "insecurity" as we have come to use it in a psychiatric sense: the effect upon personality of being adequate or inadequate relative to the demands made upon one. Both Adler, in his concept of the inferiority complex, and Freud, in his analysis of the means by which the

¹ Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Dangerous Year, 1935* (New York, 1936), p. 73.

insecure person protects himself from a recognition of his inadequacy, have made us familiar with this usage of the word. In fact, if we are at all honest with ourselves, who of us does not know through our own experiences a good deal about the way the panicky person within us runs terrified from some demands, or blindly denies their claim upon him?

c) The angle of security to which we shall direct our attention is that growing out of our place in a social group. Is it an accepted place, regarded by our peers as honorable or satisfactory, or are we set in a relation of inferiority or stigmatized as unacceptable? We do not only have to live in harmony with ourselves, as the psychiatrists rightly point out, but we must have the respect of the persons with whom we associate. Their approval of us is the touch which makes living and all its activities tolerable. The knowledge that our associates respect us, that they depend to any degree upon our co-operation, gives us that social security essential to continuous and pleasurable effort, as well as peace of mind itself.

Classifications, especially when applied to human beings, play tricks on us, and it can be rightly objected that, after all, it is practically impossible to separate these three concepts of security so as to treat one of them to the exclusion of the other two. A person will find social security more readily if his own personality is adequate to the demands made upon it, as well as if his economic foundation is assured. The validity of the criticism is obvious. Perhaps a better way of defining our approach is to say that social security will be followed as the major theme, but that acknowledgment of the necessity for economic and personal security as well will underlie the discussion to follow.

Contemporary society, the social order brought about by the Industrial Revolution, is very hard on this quality in human relations. In comparison with the society which it supplanted, it is characterized by anonymity and mobility of both persons and ideas. With notable exceptions—such as the devastations created by wars, of which the social disorder of Germany after the One Hundred Years' War is a tragic example—pre-indus-

trial society was largely characterized by small communities of folk who were born, lived, and died within narrow geographical boundaries; who came to know one another well; and who acquired a sense of belonging in the place they inhabited. In such a stable and small community the sense of social security had a perfect chance to develop. People who lived continuously in the same neighborhood adjusted themselves to one another and lent one another that mutual recognition we are describing as social security. Although there was no uniformity, the status of each person was definitely prescribed. This acknowledged standing connoted that each was necessary for the success of all. Even the mentally deficient person, if capable of taking care of himself physically, was acceptable; if he were good natured, and if given to guileless comment, he might even, as a court jester, acquire standing of some prominence. Will Rogers affected the mannerisms of the fool of simple society to carry his very shrewd and incisive comments on contemporary social problems, as many a brilliant man before him had done. And it is significant that, possessing an ample supply of brains, he chose the vocabulary and the pose of the simple-minded, as affording him a means of saying what he wanted to say without creating resentment or misunderstanding. In a society whose pace was leisurely, people came to know one another well, and they had to get along with one another, so that even the fool had a place, and it was not necessary to create courts of justice to control him or institutions to re-educate him.

In such a society much of the work and fun were experienced in common. People banded together to build their houses, to reap their crops, and to burn wood for charcoal; they worshiped at the same church, sometimes superstitiously, to be sure, but also reverently. They played together, often foolishly or roughly but sometimes with high art, as at Oberammergau. When one of their number died, the hands of his fellows prepared his body for the earth; and when one was born, neighbor women tended the mother and her child in their days of helplessness. Without such close co-operative activity man could

not have survived. And in this close integration each person had an essential rôle, and one that contributed to his sense of social security.

The capacity of pre-industrial society to produce goods was never sufficient to establish what to us would seem even the lowest standard of living; and in the effort to produce the greatest possible maximum every worker was drafted, even very young children. Men were at a premium; they were essential to any standard of living at all, and so each one found some place—a place where he had ample evidence of being wanted, of contributing something essential to the maintenance of society.

In these simpler social relations the technique of communication was speech; in face-to-face communities of low mobility people did not read books or newspapers, or use the telegraph or the postal system. Conversation is the art required of folks who would get on in small, stable communities, and no other method of communication is necessary. Now conversation has certain social concomitants not inherent in our other means of communications: there is an element of equality between persons engaged in it; there must be a give-and-take, a degree of mutual consideration and recognition not involved in any other form of human intercourse. And how well we know that there is no substitute for it as we read the racy and vigorous conversation of Shakespeare, and then compare it with the conversation we know. There is a reality, a sense of intellectual and emotional power, alongside of which our talk becomes mere verbiage. You may remember the comment of Emerson that we have learned to tell time by the watch but have forgotten how to tell it by the stars. So we have learned to read, and to those of us who find satisfaction in that sort of communication, it is ample compensation for the lost art of conversation. But it has the seeds of indifference to social responsibilities, as it is quite capable of being pursued entirely alone.

In contrast with all this the last century and a half have deified competition and degraded co-operation. The story of this vicious inversion of values is too long to be traced here.

But the result has been disastrous to the social well-being of everyone, and has done more to destroy the social security of which we are thinking than any single development in human history. In spite of the scientific accolade given the survival of the fittest by the biological theory of evolution, and its elevation in the theory of laissez faire to the throne of pre-eminence by the blessing of classical economics, competition is not the primary law of nature. Competition has a place, and an important place, in providing the stimulation necessary to bring out the best there is in one; but it is competition within the pattern of co-operation, else it leads straight to anarchy and lays an incalculable burden upon the losers in the struggle. There probably has never been in the whole history of mankind a prostitution so hideous as that which places the label of supreme virtue upon the competitive spirit. It could not have come about when conditions of life were hard; when the best efforts of all were necessary in order that any might live. It is a grim commentary on the perversity of fate that the vast increase of wealth, with the possibility of a corresponding elevation in the universal standard of living, has loosened forces of indifference to the fate of our fellows and has called that indifference good.

Of course, the industrial organization of society has produced unprecedented advantages. It has created a wealth of goods of which our ancestors never dreamed. No doubt the majority of its participants have been greatly benefited by the shift from an economic organization centering in the home to one assembled in huge industrial enterprises. Not only have there been great increases in standards of living, but certain communal activities have been made possible by this increased wealth which seem natural enough now to us, but which could not have been considered even a short century ago. Education at public expense for all children, which will take any young person almost as far as he is intellectually able to go, is its product. Public health has been spread so efficiently that the dread epidemics of the past are for the most part conquered, and the potential span of life more than doubled within a century. And

this protection is available, like education, as a common service, on a communal basis. If there were not a surplus of wealth produced over and above the bare necessities of life, there would be no money for education or for public health or for the many other public services, no matter how much science had developed and pointed out what could be done. Children in the past worked from an age that seems barbarous to us now. They are now prevented from contributing to the income of their families from the age of five or six, not because we are more humane than our forefathers, but at least in part because now their work is not needed to produce needed goods. I would not be understood as being oblivious to great and widespread benefits which have flowed from the sciences and inventions which have revolutionized society. Nothing is gained by ignoring these facts, and our argument would be weaker if it were based upon only the evil results of the new order. However, I do not think anything good whatever has flowed from the theories of competition which arose as apologies for the new industrial order as its dehumanizing results were beginning to be appraised by outraged moral judgment at the opening of the nineteenth century. If Adam Smith, John Mill, Ricardo, and the other founders of the classical school of economics had seen the moral cowardice of free competition and the awful price mankind would have to pay for it and, therefore, had set themselves to the much harder task of describing the social controls in the newer economic order necessary to insure a socially desirable use of its opportunities—for participation in its work and for sharing in its benefits—this sad and tottering world we know would have been a saner and sounder society, although it might not have become so wealthy.

You remember one of Miss Richmond's often quoted sentences: "Civilization drops every now and then some necessary part of its luggage—and has to travel back to pick it up."² Social work came into existence because there were these lost values; because folks could not understand why all were not

² *The Good Neighbor* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 22.

sharing the new wealth or because they were horrified at the penalties of progress apparent all about them. They thought largely in economic terms, and social ideals were largely moralistic, especially in terms of the "worthiness" or "unworthiness" of the victims of the new order. Only gradually and dimly has it become apparent that the most damaging cost paid for forgetting that co-operation is the primary law of society is the uselessness to which the lives of a large, and apparently an increasing, proportion of the population is reduced.

Those who succeeded in our competitive order gradually developed substitute methods of co-operation and mutual effort to fill the need created by our dehumanized communities. The city of London is filled with trade guilds—remnants of the precarious early days when survival could be won only by the union of forces—and they persist as social clubs affording satisfying chances for continuous human relations. And what a welter of such organizations has spread over our land. From the service clubs, despised by the intelligentsia, manufacturers' associations, Masonic, and lodges of other orders to professional organizations such as our own, every successful man as well as his wife finds in numbers of them adequate substitutes for the intimacies of a simpler society and places where they can share experiences, hopes, and philosophies with their equals.

But for those whose efforts to fit into our industrial order are successful, the best of all sustaining forces is that success itself—consciousness of one's worth, of one's place in the scheme of things; a satisfactory sense of one's importance to others, and pride in sharing responsibility for a hard task. These satisfactions are not confined to leaders and those who form the policies of our great corporations. Workingmen speak of "our railroad," "our business," "our factory," not because they are under any delusions about the ownership of any of these concerns, but because by this identification with his work the worker makes that emotional bond on which his social security depends. The beauty, the dignity, and the serviceableness of the product become

the quality of its maker, and he wins a place among his fellows because he shares in a common task.

This identification of the worker with his work makes anew and somewhat temporarily that face-to-face society which folks automatically create when they are engaged in joint effort. A story was told by one of our students about the attendants at a gas station at which he was employed. One of the men was injured, and at the hospital it was discovered that a blood transfusion was necessary. When his fellows were approached, every man instantly volunteered.

But even if a place at the world's workshop at a living wage were assured to all, there still would be some areas of social insecurity: that of the newcomer to a city from the rural background—of the immigrant, the Negro, the sick, the delinquent, the illegitimate. Their loss of accepted place in society would challenge our best abilities. But the terrible specter of worklessness presents the possibility of a social insecurity so appalling as to put all other problems, for the moment, in a secondary place. In our competitive world the workers are hated and condemned for being in the condition into which they are forced. The consideration to which they are entitled as human beings is lacking. They sink into apathy; they commit suicide; their families lose the last shreds of self-respect; yet outside a brief notice in the papers telling of one more workless man who has taken his life, not only does their desperate plight go unrecognized, but abuse is heaped upon them because of their helplessness. Such statements as the following made last week by the President of the Illinois Medical Association in his presidential address are all too common: "Spoon-fed derelicts and defectives—the idle, the shiftless and the subnormal, together with 3,000,000 aliens, who are now on the dole who will be housed, nourished and medically cared for by the people whose prosperity they begrudge and whose ideals they betrayed."

It was said above that social work came into existence when folks recognized that the new social order demanded a new method for dealing with people in trouble because the older

means of help were not equal to the tasks. But social work in common with the philosophy of its day saw only dimly the social helplessness of its clients. A few of its leaders were conscious of this, but the concept did not win wide acceptance. Consequently, some of the very methods of social work have tended to shatter still further the social pride and self-confidence of the clients. We social workers have dictated to them where they could and where they could not live; we have dressed them in cast-off clothes; they have eaten food of our choosing. They have received help on conditions that often ignored the worth of their own intelligence; their homes have ceased to be inviolate castles and have been perforce open to us on terms which were not reciprocal. The laws in many of our states disfranchise recipients of relief, and in all our states the laws complacently permit them to starve, if they have lost through seeking work from place to place a legal claim of residence in any given locality. We wince under such a recital as this, and are likely to say in defense, "Yes, but by what other method could we have learned; and who in the early days of social work knew anything about morale, or about social security?" The answer will have to be, "No one." But that does not mitigate the further loss of self-respect which our clients have suffered as a result of our methods. If our treatment of the dependent has been bad, that of the delinquent has been worse. His problem is divorced from economic factors, at least in its superficial aspects, and is rather one of social failure. Though we have not recognized him as such, the delinquent is one who has sought unsuccessfully for security in our social order. If we had intentionally devised a plan to break the self-respect of the delinquent, and to obliterate his confidence in his ability to share in the social adventure, or his faith in people, we could not have done worse. It is scarcely an accidental coincidence that we in America are blessed with the largest number of criminals that a nation ever had in a period of peace.

Turning to remedies and asking what to do about it are not so discouraging as the bleak picture just drawn. In the first place,

there is something on the credit side of the ledger when a point of view has been gained. It is a real stage in professional advancement when we have gathered all the foreshadowings of this need of the human spirit, given it a name, and set it up as the actual goal of social effort. It will be a long, long time before public opinion will understand; but when has public opinion really backed up social work? Fortunately, it is not necessary to get the whole theory across at once. As it becomes incorporated bit by bit into the program of social work, there is more chance that the man in the street will understand and approve it piecemeal. The rather unexpected way in which relief in cash instead of in orders has been accepted is very heartening.

One aspect of this matter of maintaining the social security of the client has received widespread acceptance from social workers. I refer to the growing practice of sharing responsibility with the client for the control of the relationship between worker and client. It is clear in Healy's early case studies in Chicago; it is emphatically brought out in *Social Diagnosis*, and in the writings of Miss Richmond's teacher, Zilpha Smith. It is, of course, at the very heart of the psychiatric method. That gain can never now be lost; and its general acceptance elevates social case work to a new plane. One of the most interesting instances of this awakening to the social importance of client participation is the way in which several social workers in the Middle West invited clients to sit on their case committees during the first years of the present industrial depression. It is significant that when social case work is applied to a new group of clients, such as enlisted men and their families during the World War, or to a whole community after a disaster, representation of clients on case committees is a regular procedure. Probably the original purpose of this device was to win the co-operation of the community, yet an important by-product has been the re-establishment of self-respect in the client group. It is a means of restoring that social security we are now recognizing as a major aim of social work.

For the purpose of restoring the sense of being of some use in

this topsy-turvy world in which those willing to work often have no chance, the plan of production-for-use is the best yet devised for the unemployed. In spite of Dr. Graham's contention that it does not interfere with private enterprise,³ it is considered a dangerous rival by private enterprise whose alert hostility to any such communal enterprise has proved a fatal handicap to a widespread development of this most promising of all devices for providing work for the jobless—educating them in the technical problems of production and distribution and permitting them to find a place for themselves in a world in which work is still the hallmark of worth.

It is much to be feared that any plan to neutralize the loss of morale of the unemployed by any such devices will be opposed either by ridicule or by set antagonism. Look at the word "boondoggling," a term invented to heap derision upon one of the most promising experiments in this present depression to suit made work to the social needs as well as to the industrial facilities of the unemployed. No amount of explanation seems to make any headway against the prejudice created by that epithet, even though in the very same breath its users condemn the unemployed as losing their worth to industry because of their idleness.

It is very questionable whether work assigned to the jobless on the basis of need is of much use in restoring their sense of social security. A job whose tenure depends on need only is a caricature of real work. It is not accepted by the community, or even by the worker's own family and friends, as the equivalent of a job which he wins and holds by his capacity. As Beveridge has said, it "degrades the name of work and disregards the principles of relief."⁴ This is exactly what "boondoggling" avoided. It discovered abilities in the workers, and made it possible to use them. The stigma of relief may not have been completely eliminated from such projects, but they were—and are—real work, which is won because the worker is capable of undertaking it.

³ *The Abolition of Unemployment* (Princeton, 1932).

⁴ *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry* (London, 1930), p. 190.

The revival of the legitimate theater, as I saw it in Texas last month, organized and financed by the State Relief Commission from among unemployed actors and actresses of that state, is rescuing an art and a form of recreation which is in danger of complete extinction, except in the metropolitan centers, and making it widely available to a large portion of that state as a welcome relief from the banalities of the movies and the prurience of the burlesque shows.

Social security will not at once become an inerrant guide for social work. The concept itself is elusive, while the phrase might easily suffer degradation or cheapening. For instance, it might be assumed that social security would automatically follow the guaranty of economic security, and that therefore the only necessary aim of social work is to make provision for some form of financial protection. England, which has probably developed the most generous and most widespread program of assuring its workers that they shall not be allowed to sink below a certain standard of living, and has thereby more nearly abolished destitution than any nation on the face of the earth, finds that there are incomes and incomes; and that those incomes which are secured without producing something valuable in return stamp their possessors as persons apart from the accepted run of human beings. England is not considering any lessening of its program of economic assurance for the lower-income groups; it is bestirring itself to the task of protecting their morale through adult education, vocational education, and projects in recreation precisely like those called "boondoggling" in this country.

Nor is social security to be defined as success or ease. It is just as true today as it ever was that what is easy to attain is not worth a man's best efforts to reach; and in those projects in which failure is unknown, success loses its relish. Social security means a chance to struggle, an opportunity to take one's place with one's fellows in the workshop and win self-confidence and respect by honest effort. It is to be found in useful activity, not in assurance that one cannot fail or in tasks that call for no

exertion. Men and women do not really mind suffering; they are not even wholly injured by defeat. What is paralyzing to all their nature is to be denied a chance to test themselves out against the hazards that others are facing.

Social security for the groups known to social work—whether unemployed, delinquent, illegitimate, widowed, or handicapped—means a place where they may participate in the functions of society with a fighting chance of making good. That means an opportunity to work at something, and to mingle with their fellows in recreation at some level of equality. It means participation in common religious observances on terms that do not degrade them. Their young men and young women should be able to plan for marriage and enter it with some chance of founding a family and of being able to maintain it; to vote and to take their share in determining the political policies of their day; and to find a place for themselves in a very busy world where only the industrious are respected. It is not an impossible aim, and a total reformation of society is not necessary to bring it about. But it is a tremendous job, and it will tax our courage, our imaginations, and our intelligence to enable those who come to us in their day of trouble to win it again for themselves.

PURPOSE AND VALUE OF STANDARDS IN CASE WORK

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STANDARDS are such common, everyday, household utilities that I suspect there is little doubt as to their purposes or values for social work. Pounds, yards, bushels, dollars, and an infinite number of standards of size, bulk, weight, and quality are the ever present devices by which life in a complicated world is simplified. A standard is for measurement of bulk, a test of quality, an identification of the genuine.

These simple and primary values are so apparently useful that there could be no question as to the desirability of having standards by which the complicated and intricate problems of social work could be simplified and clarified. When applied to social work and personnel, to be sure, it may properly be asked whether there are standards which identify competence, and many who are most intimately concerned need assurance on that point. To start with, it would be helpful to realize that standards would, if they were possible, straighten out many of the complications by which social work is made confusing to the public, and to ourselves.

Standards, in fact, are indispensable, and their necessity forces their use. All the standards employed in selecting personnel for social work are not, however, professional. There is, for instance, residence; registration as a Democrat or otherwise; the mother who has brought up her own children. "That which is established by authority, custom or general consent as a model or example; criterion; test," says Webster's *Dictionary*.

In considering, at any time, the difficulties of developing professional standards—and these are conceded to be great difficulties—it is profitable to remember that without professional models, criteria, or tests the well-known enterprise of America will not fail, and that its power of invention will be sure to conjure up other standards which are not professional to simplify administration problems.

Standards of some kind are known to be indispensable. So also it may be conceded that it is of great importance in dealing with human problems, as social work does, that such standards should be the highest obtainable. If so, the ever present substitute standards, in such matters as residence, party affiliations, and what not, are too accessible to be ignored, and immediate, consistent, sustained, and maximum efforts of the professional workers and their allies will be needed to head them off.

I do not know just when professionalization of social work set in, but according to my understanding it occurred when the trials and errors of early activities disclosed facts and hypotheses about the work which was being done which could be set down to be learned and taught, and when it was seen that social work required a broad working hypothesis and was something beyond a craft-like series of steps to be taken. The base for a professional activity can be said to be laid at the point where architecture rather than carpentry takes charge of building; where a knowledge and practice of the law concerning contract supersede bill-collecting.

It will be observed that this is a description of certain aspects of professionalism rather than any attempt to define a profession, which I am not prepared to do. There are a few factors, however, which appear common to all the professions. The first is the dependence in each case on a body of knowledge so large that it is not possible for any one practitioner to acquire that knowledge during practice. So a period of concentrated study in which this basic knowledge has been compressed, that is to say, professional education, is substituted for craft or apprentice training.

A second factor which seems to characterize each of the professions is this: a body of knowledge broader and more comprehensive than what is required in any one particular task of operation or case. Wherever there are important aspects of a situation which may alter themselves or be altered, or where unknown factors exist in a problem—be it medicine, law, construction, or social work—a breadth and versatility or professional knowledge beyond that of the artisan, however skilled at his work he may be, are demanded. A sore throat might be painted by a druggist with skill; a mid-wife might preside at a delivery—but it is unnecessary to point out the serious limitations of these and other kinds of non-professional practice, or why, with each advance in public information about sore throats and childbirth, we rely more and more upon the resourcefulness of professional practice.

In no other kind of practice which occurs to me does the need for this factor of professional breadth and versatility appear to be more applicable than to social work. Is not social work required to meet as wide a range of problems as any profession? It seems wider than any to me. A practice which starts with unknown factors, and certainly one which involves any thing as subtle, indirect, and complicated as human motives and behavior, would seem to require a particularly careful diagnosis, whereas any rule-of-thumb method or conclusions would be patently out of order.

All this would appear to be so well known to social workers that it would not need to be restated. It happens, however, that at this crucial time, when plans are being developed for many new social programs such as those promoted by the security act and relief programs, much of the discussion on the all-important question of personnel for those programs misses this primary point completely. The apparent simplicity of the act of giving relief and the fact that time is not allowed and facilities are not provided for what are thought to be the complications of case work have led many to believe that relief personnel need only consist of persons able to go through those simple routines. This

has disclosed an alarming lack of conviction on the part of social workers themselves, many of them in positions of great influence, concerning the validity of the knowledge which social work has acquired. Instead, case work is apparently regarded as a series of steps to be taken in their proper order; valueless unless applied with the full force of the magic case-work sequence. It is like saying that a knowledge of anatomy or physiology or contagion would not be necessary in an epidemic or under fire in an advanced field hospital, because in neither case would the qualified practitioner be able to do all the things he knew how to do, or work with all the facilities at his command in a more sheltered situation. Conviction on social-work knowledge would make us recognize that brief contacts, lack of time and facilities, and other characteristics of a "mass" problem create a new urgency for using the most tried and competent social workers available.

The absurdity of such a denial of basic knowledge in connection with another profession emphasizes the vital concern which social work has at this time with professional standards; how important it is to instruct ourselves and interpret to others that social work has learned that certain relationships are helpful and humane and others are stupid and destructive, and that the sum of this knowledge is professional education for social work on a professional basis of breadth and versatility, socially useful in application. I believe this concept of social work to be so important that, if it could be clearly understood, many of the problems of support and interpretation could be liquidated; the relationship of education to practice would be clarified, where in many places it is now doubted and obscured; and standards could be set and maintained where they are now weak or broken.

Looking at social-work history and development, it is possible to understand why this essential professional principle has been slow to emerge and is but little comprehended. Each kind of social work started as an individual enterprise. Each staff had certain things to do with people as individuals or as groups. A

charity organization society attempted a certain program, and required of its staff skilled performance at a set of steps to be taken from the time a case applied until it was closed. A protective society had a different hypothesis and a different series of tasks to be completed, and so on through the list of agencies public and private—child placing, hospital work, public work, group work, and what not—which sprang up to represent, on the whole, benevolent motives of the sponsors of these enterprises. This is, of course, a conveniently over-simplified picture of social work at any one time.

It may be assumed that professional perspective was induced by the wide area of human problems, experience, and behavior with which social work came in contact. It is safe to assume, however, that it was at first dimly perceived and imperfectly comprehended, and that it was identified as professional only after a strong root growth had been established. It was required to grow and develop in an unfavorable setting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the professional aspects of social work are still opposed by hostilities which are entrenched in vestiges of original organization forms and in competitions between agency programs, and by a lack of conviction in the social workers whose advent and experience in social work have been conditioned by all these influences.

Public programs and social agencies, confronted by public indifference to the social problems they dealt with, were forced into missionary attitudes in their zeal to extend their good works. An indication of the ensuing pressure under which social work developed is seen in the fact that measures adopted by some agencies to raise funds were so bad as to require reform. Standards as to money-raising were formulated. Limits were sought for percentage commissions paid to collectors, and other devices, such as charity balls, football, and other benefits were frowned upon. Expansion of service went forward, however, at a greater rate than that of public comprehension. I should like to point out here that public comprehension lagged partly because agency staffs were expanding their concepts of their work,

and agency programs developed faster than the staffs were able to prove their work and their usefulness in line with the increasing needs for supporters and funds. This led to a condition of dualism and pronounced agency "split" personality: raising money for a limited purpose, and spending on a broader one. This was bound to confuse the public and to retard the development of sound testing and deliberate study of social-work programs.

The financial problem is stressed here to show some of the tensions which were created in social-work development which were hostile to professional growth, and still are. Under such pressure it is not surprising that agencies, and social workers, failed to notice the growing scope of social work; failed to notice that in practice social workers had learned and were passing on to one another certain knowledge about people and their problems, and about methods of dealing with those problems; and further failed to understand the significance of this discovery, which has profound meaning to the social work of the future.

A further look at the financial problem discloses indications that some of our cherished notions about social work, which offered the greatest resistance to the development of professional knowledge and education, were invented as financial devices. Each agency, as it was organized, undertook to deal with different social problems, naturally enough, but under the whip of financial need social workers were rallied around these separatist banners. To interest a new group of supporters, a second agency was impelled to find a new set of steps to take, which could be readily distinguished from those of other agencies. It would not be practical to set up "child-placing agency number two," or "family agency number six." To make the most effective appeal to givers, great emphasis was needed on the special social problem dealt with. To provide this emphasis it was necessary to train the workers of each agency in a different set of things to be done, and around these separate banners strong agency loyalties were born and fostered.

Under such confusion of agency existence, nevertheless, pro-

fessionalism did develop, and it is conceivable that the many differences helped to visualize certain aspects of the total social-work problem. I would not be prepared to deny that it was so. What I believe to be necessary at this time, however, is to root out, with no loss of time, the still flourishing fancy that each segment of a human problem needs a different kind of person to deal with it, with a different training and with a whole set of loyalties to special methods or to a special clientèle identified by its separate problem. To perpetuate uncritically the inessential differences in clientèle, in problem, and in method is to follow the road back to a number of limited segmental practices in which any general knowledge of human motivation and behavior, about social, political, or economic problems, is denied validity.

I hasten to add that I am not expecting to do away with agencies or with their financial needs. To combat the influence of outworn concepts, it would be well to restate occasionally that what is known about widows is very much the same as what is known about women living with husbands, or for that matter about maiden ladies. Children within their own homes are much like those outside of them. An "unemployable," God help us for that term, is certainly not so unlike an "employable" that we need a different governmental unit to deal with him.

I would not say that all problems are the same, or that certain methods might not require some special and distinctive practice. But I would deny professional breadth or versatility to any social work which limits its usefulness to the comparatively minor differences, and does not recognize that knowledge of people and of their problems, and methods of dealing with problems, are the broad basis on which all social work must rest. In other words, professional social work might be done with dependent children, exclusively, or with families exclusively, or with any of the special problems with which any existing agencies deal. Specialties are adaptations of something generic, and there may likely be adaptations of social work to age groups, to rural counties, to groups, to individuals, along racial or religious

lines, or under public or private auspices. But I believe that one reason why social work has not had a higher place in public esteem is that financial and other competitive rivalries have led agencies to represent their work, and their workers, as having importance only within the relatively fractional and unimpressive area which differentiated them from the work and workers of other agencies. If the public is aware only of limited ability necessary to find suitable boarding-homes, or to go through whatever steps are necessary preliminary to a relief grant, it could be pardoned for not understanding why college education, thorough grounding in social sciences, or a year or two of special study in a professional school should be required for the performance of those simple tasks.

With the origins of social work so related to the exploitation of particular problems and remedies, the concept of a generic body of knowledge about people, useful in all forms of social work alike, has been delayed. Formidable resistance has been presented by the whole superstructure of agency, board, staff training, national agency, councils, chests, social-work publicity, and so on, and it is not to be wondered at that a lack of conviction and understanding has persisted among the social workers.

The emphasis on inessential differences and the resulting complexity and competition of agencies and programs have presented a second major obstacle to professional advance, by standing in the way of open professional criticism and discussion. Another impediment to professional growth has been the fact that our professional education, with origins in agency-training courses, has not been able to free itself entirely from the craft stage. Agency traditions have been kept alive in education by the personnel available for school staffs and by the field-work contacts with special agencies. The schools of social work have been among the most potent of the progressive influences at work against the trade, or guild, or craft stage of social work. They have furnished avenues of escape from the apprentice system of training, which, while effective in many ways,

could not by its natural limitations rise to the general level of professional education. At no point is a profession so vulnerable as at that of professional education and in maintaining professional standards; no asset is so jealously to be guarded.

As long as there are major weaknesses in the schools of social work, it may be legitimate to utilize other educational devices. Any rejection of the professional schools, however, should be given rigid inspection. Is it derived from the fact that the schools have not acquired the most advanced knowledge? If that is so, the situation would be on the way to be corrected because the full force of professional effort and organization could be utilized to bring any sound and tested knowledge and theory into the schools. I suspect that much of the lack of conviction about the schools of social work reflects a lack of understanding of the vital fact that social work is more than a particular and limited craft practice which certain agencies emphasize.

Professional development in social work is synonymous with increasing knowledge about social problems—knowledge which is tested scientifically and put into service by the persons to whom it has been transmitted. It is the central question of the substance of social work, the ways in which social workers are equipped to put that substance into practice, and the basis for sound social-work expansion and interpretation. The obstacles and limitations which have hindered professional development are identical with the major difficulties faced by administration, education, and interpretation, and by the all-important increasing process of discovering and testing new data and acquiring greater knowledge.

The knowledge which makes social work professional is embodied in the social workers to whom it has been imparted. The constant and pressing problem of administration—imperfectly appreciated, I fear, by some administrators—is to give to social work the chance to make its full contribution in the persons of these social workers. This brings us back to the problem of standards. How can the social workers be identified so that they

can be put to work? Even the most practiced eye cannot be depended on. Professional standards are therefore sought as a test of quality—a means of identifying the genuine.

How are the professional standards to be developed and maintained? All the known devices of formulation, examination, and certification may be employed, and these may be promoted by advertising and argument. These are methods which suggest themselves. This will continue to be slow going, however, until social workers use every avenue of interchange with one another to develop and deepen their own conviction that social work has a socially useful knowledge, applicable through the service of its practitioners—a conviction strong enough to influence daily decision and interpretation and to keep their hopes attached to further professional growth through education.

RELATION OF A STANDARD OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING TO PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

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WHEN the American Medical School was well along in the second century of its history, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching got Abraham Flexner to prepare a report upon medical education in the United States and Canada.¹ Medical education began, as did social-work education, as a supplement to the apprenticeship system. The likely youth during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

destined to a medical career, was at an early age indentured to some reputable practitioner . . . he ran his master's errands, washed the bottles, mixed the drugs, spread the plasters, and finally . . . actually took part in the daily practice of his preceptor,—bleeding the patients, pulling their teeth, and obeying a hurried summons in the night.²

Gradually this system changed until "all the training that a young doctor got before beginning his practice had . . . to be procured within the medical school." But the medical schools had not fully realized what changes were going on in the practice of medicine; in fact, they had so little realization of these changes that it was possible, according to Dr. Cabot, for the stethoscope to be in use for over thirty years before it was first mentioned in the catalogue of the Harvard Medical School in 1868-69.³ Fortunately for social-work education, although the

¹ *Medical Education in the U.S. and Canada* (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910).

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

teachers in schools of social work may sometimes lag behind the more adventuresome practitioners, the lag is not that measured by a span of thirty years. More often, in our history, the educators have been the voices crying in the wilderness, good strong voices it is true, such as Dean Abbott's announcing in no uncertain terms at Washington in 1929 that

it is easy to venture the prophecy that our system of public welfare services will be extended in the next fifty years as our system of public education has grown in the last half century, and we shall see the old private charities passing as the charity schools have gone.⁴

It seems to me as self-evident as it did to Mary Richmond back in 1897 that only through professional education are we to obtain good professional practice.

And now if you will bear with me in my provincialism, I should like to take my illustrations of the relationship between professional education and practice from below the Mason and Dixon line, as it is this section of the country that I have known best during the past seven or eight years. Our vested interests in social welfare are to be found largely in the institutional field, both public and private. We do not have, on the whole, a lot of public or private agency clearance work to be done before we can start building. The people in our area are discovering that many of the things they read about themselves in such journals as the *New Republic* and the *Nation* and dismissed as Yankee expressions of envy of southern culture are inaccurate both in their mildness and in their scope. The South is deeply indebted to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for the opportunity that agency gave to hundreds of southern men and women to learn, first hand, about the social conditions in their states. What we have found has left us not only profoundly uncomfortable but with an impelling desire for change. And so we have in the South both little to clear away in the form of out-worn social agency obstruction, and the presence of a rapidly growing number of socially intelligent men and women who are becoming creative forces in their communities.

⁴ *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 83.

It was not by accident that Louisiana had a higher average rural relief level for July, September, and November, 1933, and for May and July, 1934, than that for the United States as a whole, and that the state during these two years consistently maintained a higher average monthly grant in rural areas than did Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas.⁵ There is little doubt but that this average was obtained and held through the leadership of the professionally educated social workers, both within and without the Louisiana Emergency Relief Administration. It is also interesting to note that our system was from the beginning one of cash relief; it was the federal government and not the home folks who introduced us to commodities. The federal government's getting out of the "business of relief" in the South has meant getting out of social welfare as well. We were not just administering relief in Louisiana, we were also getting children into school, providing medical care, teaching individuals how to feed, clothe, and care for themselves and their children—in short, our social workers were engaged in those preventive services that the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator longed for but failed to recognize. You may say that these services are unnecessary; for if we give to the individuals in need in our southern areas adequate assistance, they will pull themselves up by their own security wage checks. This is theoretically plausible, but in terms of actual conditions almost pure sentimentality. Malaria, hookworm, pellagra, illiteracy, and the plantation system take a heavy toll in terms of individual initiative, and all that we mean when we talk about a person's capacity for self-maintenance.

A school of social work, if it wishes to maintain any relationship to good professional practice in the South, must have a firm hold upon economic and social realities and must proceed with professional conviction regarding the necessity for establishing in every section of this country what the Webbs have called a "national minimum of civilized life," for the battle we

⁵ Lillie Nairne, *A Study of the Administration of Relief to the Unemployed in Louisiana with Special Reference to a Future Public Welfare Program* (Tulane University School of Social Work, 1935), pp. 62-63.

wage in the South is a battle against mass destitution and all that that implies. Unfortunately part of this battle, and what should really be an unnecessary part, must be waged on the northern psychological front. Recently a southern state enacted legislation providing for old age assistance on the luxury standard of average grants amounting to four dollars a month, with maximum grants reaching six dollars. In commenting upon this to one of my northern friends she said, "Oh, well, that's progress in that state—that's more than they ever had before." Well that's not progress either in that state or in any other state, and if we are to achieve any progress in that state, and in these United States, not only will it be necessary to interpret to the relatively few secure people in the state what four dollars a month means in terms of individual suffering, but we shall have to get our northern social workers to stop setting up differentials for the South in this matter of good professional practice.

How is education in a professional school of social work related to good professional practice? If you will look at the basic first-year curriculum outlined by the American Association of Schools of Social Work you will see that the generic aspects of social work rather than the particularization of any of the varieties is stressed. Charles Beard in *A Charter for the Social Sciences* tells us:

In the wider range of social relations it is not words that count, but capacity to understand, analyze, bring information to bear, to choose, to resolve, and to act wisely. Competence in the individual, not dogma is our supreme objective.⁶

We shall, I believe, agree that the competent individual in our field is not one who has been trained to carry out in as faultless a manner as is humanly possible the current practices of a particular agency, but rather an individual able critically to analyze and evaluate these practices, and to assume some community leadership in such matters as public assistance, modern theories of child care and family adjustment, old age pensions, public welfare legislation, social research, etc. Too great a concentra-

⁶ Scribners, 1932, p. 96.

tion on social case work, important and vital as it is to all our practice, has almost robbed us of our heritage of social reform. The unit of practice will continue to be the individual client, but if the individual is to obtain the help he desires and needs, it is important for social workers to be able to deal effectively with the environmental factors which have an influence on the individual and his social well-being. The student from a school of social work who removed some twenty children from an almshouse was able to use a rather important chapter from the course she had had in the history of social work, and to demonstrate what she had learned in government, public welfare administration, child welfare, and case work.

We have said that "in the wider range of social relations, it is not words that count, but capacity to understand. . . ." Students come to a school of social work bringing with them an assortment of social beliefs and community traditions that are far more useful to the astrologer than to the social scientist or social worker. One of the primary functions of a school of social work is to disturb these beliefs. It is interesting to watch students analyze and discard such concepts as "worthy," "unworthy," "grateful," "ungrateful," and to examine critically their ideas of dependence, independence, and conceptions of "poor whites" and Negroes. To do this students need an introduction to the method of unprejudiced inquiry. Often the student needs only to be stimulated to extend his own use of his own word, "why." The curriculum of a school of social work is made up of courses designed to aid the student in understanding not only the individual, but the individual in his social setting, and the interrelationship that knits the two. In any presentation of courses facts must be selected, and when selection occurs, emphasis cannot be avoided. The instructors in schools of social work can escape the necessity of choice only by taking refuge in the world of abstraction or esoteric theory. It becomes increasingly important that schools and practitioners recognize that social work has course material of its own, as well as the material from the social sciences that we adapt for our own use.

Here, again, the matter of choice and emphasis creates differences between schools and sometimes confusion in the mind of our professional membership as to what that professional education is that will bear the fruits of good professional practice. So long as there is a growing basic unity in the content of the courses given in the professional schools, we need not fear these differences in emphases, for in an important sense they are a healthy manifestation of a growing profession.

In the field-work courses the student has the opportunity to increase his "capacity to understand, analyze, bring information to bear, to choose, to resolve and to act wisely." As Lee and Kenworthy tell us:

Field work has presented difficulties to schools of social work chiefly because of the uneven character of the experience that social agencies have been able to provide for students. Ideally, the field work of a professional school for social work should have as high educational implications as class room instruction. Practically field work tends to be an opportunity to observe a series of uncorrelated meaningless tasks, or, on a higher level a chance to work within the routine of an agency with some control by a supervisor but without conscious effort on the part of the supervisor to make the experiences of the maximum educational value.⁷

These difficulties led Tufts in 1923 to suggest that schools have their own agencies in order that they might control the quality of field-work instruction,⁸ and Karpf in 1931 to propose that the amount of field work be "reduced to a point proportionate to the time a medical student spends in a clinic in order to become acquainted with the organization and procedure of clinics."⁹ Gradually this situation is changing, and the change is undoubtedly due to the increasing emphasis placed by schools on developing content in the field-work courses and on the importance of the professional education, competence, and teaching ability of field-work instructors; to agency and school recognition of the generic aspects of social work; and to an ever deepen-

⁷ *Mental Hygiene and Social Work* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929), p. 261.

⁸ *Education and Training for Social Work* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1923).

⁹ *The Scientific Basis of Social Work* (Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 337.

ing realization that schools and agencies are interdependent, for there must be an interchange of material and ideas if education in professional schools is to be dynamic, and if agencies are to be able to obtain the quality of personnel on whom their successful functioning in a community depends. The membership requirement of the American Association of Social Workers calling for "300 clock hours of supervised field work" is, and will continue to be, one of the most important factors in raising the standard of field-work instruction. Although substantial gains have been made, field-work courses are still on the educational frontier, and they will probably remain there until the schools face the question that cannot be avoided if field-work courses are to have content and if field-work teaching is to be as important as classroom instruction, namely, the willingness and financial ability of schools to allocate a substantial part of their own budgets to field-work teaching.

Not only do students need to learn the method of social case work, but they need to learn how to study social situations and interpret their findings if they are to be able intelligently to participate in federal, state, and local community planning for social welfare. Students who complete two graduate years in the Tulane University School of Social Work must present a satisfactory dissertation, but since the demand for personnel is so great, many students accept positions after the completion of one graduate year. The first-year student group, therefore, carries through a group inquiry or research project. These projects are social investigations needed as a basis for social planning in New Orleans, and as such they usually have their rise in the request of some group or social agency in the community. In 1931, at the request of the Commission Council and the Council of Social Agencies, the students made a population study of the Touro-Shakespeare Almshouse; the following year a study was made of the Trinity Church Soup Kitchen with the students participating in presenting their findings to the church committee. The minutes of that session indicate the stubborn realities involved in community organization. In 1933-34 a

house-to-house investigation was made of 523 Negro families for a subcommittee of the Council of Social Agencies interested in obtaining federal funds for a housing project for Negroes; in 1935 the students co-operated with the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study of consumption and money disbursements of employed wage-earners, and this year the students helped Florence Nesbitt prepare the New Orleans standard budget for dependent families. If, as Dean Abbott states, the social worker is "absolutely indispensable to the proper development of social research," then it is important that all social workers be able to collect, analyze, and interpret the material in their own field. Social research is directly related to good professional practice, for, as Esther Brown has pointed out, it is the students now in schools of social work "who will be obliged in future years, not merely to maintain the status quo of the profession, but to gather and interpret new data and formulate new plans and policies."¹⁰

The problems we face are problems in the quality and in the quantity of professional education—problems that must be viewed realistically in terms of budgets, for it is not on good intentions alone that a school of social work can be built. The future development of schools of social work will be largely conditioned by the creation of a public opinion which will discriminate between the professional social worker and the non-professional counterfeit, even though the counterfeit be almost as good if not better than the original article, and which will insist upon a "new conscience in public administration," expressing itself in terms of merit systems; upon universities concerning themselves with the problems of social welfare and the adequate support of graduate schools of social work; and finally upon the understanding of the members of the profession of their own practice and of the relation between this practice and professional education.

¹⁰ *Social Work as a Profession* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1935), p. 41.

A PHILOSOPHY OF SUPERVISION IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

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A DISCUSSION of the philosophy of supervision in social case work will obviously concern itself with an examination of the basic purposes underlying the processes of supervision—an exploration of the body of concepts, or rationale, which governs development in supervision. The term “supervision” is so loosely used in the field of social work today that it may be well to describe how, for the purposes of this paper, we are using the term. In an accurate etymological sense the word supervision means “oversight,” “control,” “surveillance,” but as it is more commonly used to define the function which one individual assumes in relation to another in the practice of social case work, the term may be assumed to have a broader meaning. In this sense I am assuming supervision to include not only responsibility for guidance or direction of the individual supervised, but also responsibility for education, professional progress, and personal growth. This meaning of the term has been a natural outgrowth of experience in supervision. Beginning with an assumption that the supervisor’s primary responsibility was to insure adequate service to the client and the integrity of agency function, it was inevitable that we should very early have reached the conclusion that adequate service to the client, and satisfactory functioning in relation to the agency, are directly related to the individual worker’s growth in capacity to render service and to function as a part of the agency. Gradually we have come to see that in order to attain these basic objectives supervision must be increasingly directed toward

the education and growth of the worker. In other words, given supervision which is focused upon developing the knowledge, skills, and freedom of the worker, the service to clients and integrity of agency function will be assured. But no amount of emphasis on service to clients or protection of agency function will insure more adequacy in performance unless the worker is growing in knowledge, skills, and personal freedom.

This principle is more readily formulated in theory than maintained in practice. So long as these three responsibilities of the supervisor do not conflict, supervision can be directed toward the development of the worker. But when they do conflict, as they inevitably must, complicated problems in supervision emerge. When a worker resists carrying out an agency policy of which he does not approve, where does the supervisor's responsibility lie? To the agency or to the worker? Given time and opportunity, the worker might be helped to a freer acceptance of the policy. But the policy has broad community implications and must be put into effect at once. Insisting that the worker carry out a policy which he cannot accept may create resentments which will seriously impede his growth. What is the supervisor to do? And what of the situation in which the worker, because of his own lack of knowledge or personal bias, insists upon carrying out a plan which will be harmful to the client? What of the supervisor's responsibility then? To allow the worker to carry out the plan may seriously damage the client. To deter the worker may result in frustration which will affect his ability to help the client in any other plan and resentment toward the supervisor which will jeopardize their relationship and impede his further growth. Where does the supervisor's responsibility lie?

It would be presumptuous to attempt a final answer to a problem with such far-flung ramifications as this. I can, however, offer two suggestions for guidance in our thinking about the problem:

First, a sense of relative values is essential in finding a way to meet these problems when they emerge. In each individual

instance we can ask what are the relative advantages and the relative dangers in assuming responsibility to the worker as primary? How serious will it be for the agency or for the community if the worker is not forced to put the policy into effect until he has accepted it? It may be high treason, but nevertheless I call attention to the fact that not all policies and procedures are of equal importance; that it is easy to confuse the way we want things done, or like them to be done, or are accustomed to having them done with the way they have to be done; and that constant exposure to the official pronouncements of the higher-ups can result in the slow decay of discrimination, to the point where we are unable to differentiate what might be ignored from what must be obeyed. We may ask, also, how seriously will the client be damaged if the worker is allowed to work through his own plan? And I risk the suggestion that it is difficult to maintain a clear distinction between what we, as supervisors, think is best and what may be best for the client; and that it is not always easy for us to discern for whom the potential damage is greatest—the client, about whom the worker is thinking, or the supervisor whose thinking the worker rejects. I am not, as you see, giving you a scale of relative values. I am only suggesting the need for weighing relative values before arriving at any conclusions.

The second suggestion I offer is this—that this responsibility to the client, the agency, and the worker does not belong to the supervisor alone. The worker, also, has a responsibility to the client and the agency as well as to himself. And when his own impulses conflict with the limitations imposed by the policies of the agency or the nature of the client's need, the acceptance of these limitations becomes a problem in his own growth process. In other words, in the conflict between the interests of the client, the agency, and the worker, the worker's development need not be jeopardized if the supervisor sees this as an opportunity for growth through the adjustment to or acceptance of the limitations imposed by the worker's reality. To translate this potential opportunity into actual growth for the worker, the super-

visor will need to have preceded the worker in his acceptance of these reality limitations, else he will only add his own frustrations and conflicts to those of the worker. This does not eliminate the problems arising from conflicting responsibilities, but it suggests the possibility of converting such conflicts into opportunities for growth experiences for the worker, in lieu of accepting the inevitability of frustrations and resentments when such conflicts arise.

With this brief reference to the conflicting responsibilities around which the supervisor must construct his philosophy of supervision, let us continue to a more detailed consideration of that aspect with which we are primarily concerned—the supervisor's responsibility to the worker whom he supervises. First, let us ask what are the general goals of supervision? Toward what does the supervisor aim? In what direction does he wish the worker to move? It is true that the real goals of supervision for the individual worker develop from within through the process of his own growth, that supervision is primarily directed toward stimulating this growth, and that it is directly related to the individual's personal capacities. In this sense it may be that the supervisor can have no goals, and that the direction of supervision will vary with the individual. Granted that we can thus define the goals and direction of supervision in individual terms, it seems to me that we have, necessarily, to define our objectives in broader terms in order to lend a sense of direction to individual growth. We have said that supervision entails responsibility for guidance, education, and professional and personal growth. Toward what ends? Toward the end of producing workers who are able to relate themselves freely to other people, unhampered by their own feelings and prejudices; have a point of view about other people which enables them to individualize, to accredit personality, and to accept others without judgmental attitudes; have a sound philosophy of social work which enables them to see the "whys" of social work, and the relationship between agency, client, and community; have a scientific approach to the understanding of social and individual

problems, which enables them to deal objectively and accurately with facts; have an adequate grasp of the method of understanding and treating social and individual needs; and have scientific knowledge which enables them to interpret adequately the facts with which they are dealing, and to use them effectively in assisting the client to achieve a better adjustment. This, it seems to me, is what we are aiming at in general through the supervision of individual workers.

The supervisor is the most important component in supervision. He is, after all, another case worker sharing with the supervisee their joint responsibilities toward the client and the agency. The supervisory experience should represent a growth experience for the supervisor—just as it does for the worker. But the responsibility invested in the supervisor by the agency, the assumption on the worker's part that the supervisor will make some direct contribution to his professional growth, affects this joint relationship, making it easy for both the supervisor and the worker to misinterpret their joint responsibilities toward each other. One of the most common manifestations of this is the assumption on the part of some workers that the supervisors know—or should know—and the assumption on the part of the supervisor that he knows—or must pretend to know—everything. There is also the danger that the supervisor may feel too great responsibility for the worker—may feel that, because he is supervisor, the worker is accountable to him for everything he does and should not be allowed to do anything for which the supervisor is not willing to assume direct responsibility. There is also the danger that the supervisor will seek to utilize his workers as a form of extension of himself. With this impulse to mold his workers after his own image it is quite possible that the agency, instead of having six different workers in the field and one supervisor in the office, will find that it has a kind of centipede supervisor—with one pair of legs in the office and six pairs extended in the field.

Successful supervision depends upon the supervisor's own ability to allow his workers to be free and self-directing, not

merely the knowledge that freedom and self-direction have value for the worker. It depends also upon the supervisor's ability to accept a relationship with the worker in which there is joint participation, upon his ability to utilize what the worker can contribute, and his ability to say, "I don't know," and still be relaxed. However, in addition to being a stable, secure individual free from the need to impose his drives upon others and from the need to intrude upon them, flexible enough to share responsibilities with others, tolerant enough to accept their foibles, wise enough to see their strengths—over and above all the virtues in the category of the well-integrated personality, the supervisor needs something else—he needs to be able not only to function in certain ways as a human being but also to function in a specific direction as a supervisor.

If through his supervision the worker is to attain the general goals we have indicated, what constitutes the supervisor's functioning toward these specific ends? We have said that the supervisor has an interest in the guidance, education, and personal growth of the worker. He must, therefore, act as consultant, as teacher, and as a stimulus to personal growth. Let us examine the supervisory function in each of these respects:

1. As a consultant the supervisor contributes knowledge and expertness which should be available to the worker to utilize as he feels the need for it in the performance of his job. Because the supervisor is supervisor, it is assumed that he has knowledge and expertness which the worker does not have. It may also be assumed that in the performance of his job the worker will need from time to time to consult with the supervisor, to gain the benefit of his greater experience and knowledge. It is important that the worker should be encouraged to use the supervisor in this way; it is even more important that the supervisor should not allow the worker to misuse him in this capacity. These are some of the ways in which the supervisor can handle his function as consultant in such a way as to insure the worker's growth in the use of him in this capacity: thinking with him—not for him; using his own additional knowledge and expertness to sup-

plement, not to substitute for, the worker's; assuring the educational integrity of such consultation by making it truly consultation with, not merely giving advice to.

There may be a tendency on the part of some to deny the usefulness of this function in supervision, assuming that it inevitably impedes the workers' growth by encouraging dependence on the supervisor's thinking rather than the development of his own capacity to think for himself. When this occurs, it is often not because the supervisor has functioned as consultant, but rather because of the way in which he has functioned as consultant. It is assumed that the development of awareness to his own limitations in knowledge and expertness, knowing when to seek advice and being able to use it, is very much a part of the worker's educational development. The supervisor must, therefore, not only offer the opportunity for consultation and advice, but must assume some responsibility in developing the worker's capacity to make constructive use of it.

2. There are certain ingredients in the content of supervision which seem to be so largely educational in nature that the supervisor may be said to function as a teacher in relation to them. Some of the objectives which we noted as constituting the broad general objectives can best be attained through a pedagogical or teaching process. In relation to them we can say that supervision includes the pedagogical process at the same time that it extends beyond it. For instance, the worker's professional and personal growth is related to the continuous acquisition of new knowledge. The supervisor, therefore, must take some responsibility in helping to determine the character of knowledge the worker needs to acquire and for the manner in which he is to acquire it. New knowledge is most readily acquired if presented in a sound pedagogical manner—that is, if it is presented in relation to familiar knowledge, if it is related to experience, if it is accompanied by the opportunity to test it through use, or the opportunity to observe its working out, etc. The pedagogical process through which educational development of the worker proceeds involves a planned progression of

experience for the worker, selectivity of material discussed in relation to the worker's stage of development, and ability to use the discussion, knowing when to stimulate the worker's awareness of the need for new knowledge, as well as knowing when not to handicap him by awareness of his limited knowledge.

It is in relation to the development of the worker's capacity to use himself in the practice of case work that the supervisor performs his most important function. Successful performance depends upon the worker's knowledge and his ability to use that knowledge in practice. Skill in the practice of case work is compounded of knowledge and the ability to use knowledge. The supervisor cannot directly develop skills in workers, but he can assist the worker in acquiring adequate knowledge and may help to free the worker from those limitations which affect his capacity for using his knowledge more effectively.

Limitations in ability to use knowledge in practice derive most commonly from two sources: (1) incomplete, fragmentary, poorly integrated knowledge which the worker cannot use effectively in practice because the gaps cannot be bridged—knowledge which has been acquired as theoretical concepts dissociated from reality and from practice, which puts too heavy demands upon the worker's ability to understand its relation to practice; (2) personal feelings, prejudices, conflicts, or needs on the part of the worker which are so strong that they determine his performance and limit his ability to make use of the knowledge which he has.

When the worker's inability to use his knowledge grows out of the incomplete nature of the knowledge itself, the supervisor can assist the worker to function more effectively by helping him to evaluate his own experience in such a way that he becomes aware of the gaps in his knowledge, stimulating his interest in more adequate knowledge through his ability to see its usefulness in his own work, and directing him to sources from which he can gain new knowledge. Also, the supervisor can help the worker learn to use his knowledge more effectually by constantly relating knowledge to practice, by emphasis upon scien-

tific disciplines, and by insistence upon systematic thinking in the discussion of the worker's cases.

When, however, the use of knowledge in practice is limited by the worker's own feelings, prejudices, conflicts, and needs, the supervisor assumes a different function. The extent to which the supervisor can contribute to the worker's personal development, to freeing him from personal conflicts which impede his progress, is dependent upon three factors: (1) the worker's capacity for growth; (2) the supervisor's competence in the understanding and handling of such personal limitations; (3) the setting in which they are functioning. A great deal has been said and thought on the question of the supervisor's responsibility in relation to treatment of the personality difficulties of the worker. So far as I know there is no universal agreement on the subject. Often the opinion that the handling of the worker's personal difficulties must be considered as a function of supervision derives from the individual supervisor's impulse to cure; and just as often the opinion that the handling of the worker's personal difficulties cannot and should not be considered the supervisor's function grows out of the individual supervisor's desire to avoid such responsibility. I can do no more than suggest some factors which should be taken into consideration in thinking through this question:

1. In considering his responsibility in relation to the worker's personal difficulties, the supervisor should consider the extent to which the individual worker's difficulties affect his performance, the areas affected, and the seriousness for client, worker, and agency.

2. The individual worker's capacity for growth, his interest in clearing away personal obstacles, and his concept of his relationship to the supervisor should be considered.

3. He should consider the total area of responsibility which the supervisor, by virtue of his position, must assume in relation to the worker—the supervisor cannot always renounce the other aspects of his relationship in order to assume therapeutic re-

sponsibilities, and these other responsibilities may intrude upon his therapeutic ones.

4. The competence of the individual supervisor in understanding and controlling such a supervisory relationship with the worker must also be considered.

I realize that I have given no answer to the question—what should the supervisor's responsibility be in relation to the worker's personal difficulties, but there can be no one solution for an equation in which the factors are so variable. We can only say that professional progress is inevitably related to personal growth.

Any discussion of the philosophy of supervision in social case work would be incomplete without some consideration of the relationship between the function of supervision and the setting in which the supervisor functions. For the supervisor functioning in any setting two questions are basic to the construction of a philosophy of supervision: (1) What elements in the setting define the structure within which he must function? (2) What is the area of freedom within which he is free from the influences of structure?

We are all more or less familiar with the elements in the setting which tend to influence supervision and, therefore, to determine philosophy and practice: the function of the agency, the administrative set-up of the agency, the concept of the supervisor's job, the diffusion of activities, the geographical distribution of the workers supervised, the physical setting of the office, the multiplicity of pressures, the extent of responsibility, the relation to administrative machinery, the size of case loads—these and many other aspects of the setting serve to define the individual supervisor's function in relation to his workers. Please note that I have said these elements in the setting define the supervisor's function—they serve to delineate the structure within which he functions. Too frequently these factors have been interpreted as limiting the supervisor's function.

As to the area of freedom within which the supervisor is free

from the influences of structure, this is perhaps less familiar to us. It does, however, include the whole area of supervisory relationship; the possibility of accepting and accrediting the worker individually; the opportunity to delegate such responsibilities as he is able to assume; the freedom to develop the worker's awareness of the supervisor's interest in his progress; the opportunity to be selective in directing the worker's experience; the possibility of allowing him to participate in planning; the ability to enrich his knowledge; assistance in developing a point of view, a philosophy, a method of work which assures him the satisfaction of increasing adequacy of accomplishment.

In conclusion, let me again emphasize that I have made no pretense of formulating here a philosophy of supervision. Rather, I have attempted to indicate some guides to the construction of such an individual philosophy; and I emphasize again that philosophy is only one aspect of supervision—that the personality of the supervisor is even more important because he must be free to practice his philosophy.

THE NEW HORIZONS OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

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THE last six years have brought to those interested in professional education for social work three experiences which should be related to the development of educational facilities. First, the social worker has learned that public welfare is a field in which the social worker not only should be at home but should exercise great influence; second, many government officials have recognized the fact that the social worker should be included in the welfare organization and that the influence and services of the social worker should be admitted as important factors in the sound development of public welfare; third, the relationship between welfare and other aspects of security legislation and administration is seen to open up new avenues of development and to lay upon the schools of social work new and heavy responsibilities.

It is twenty-five years ago that I participated first in a Conference program dealing with professional education for social work. Miss Dawes and Miss Richmond had made their historic appeals at Chicago in 1893 and Toronto in 1897 for the development of educational facilities that would relieve the social-work agency of the burden of recruiting, initiating, and training new workers and furnishing a supply of workers possibly at modest rates of pay—that is especially what Miss Dawes asked.

At that time, in 1911, at Boston five schools had been established. It was then reported that on several points there was already definite agreement among the schools. These were, first,

that the schools could help the agencies by assuming the responsibility of trying out and so selecting the future practitioners; second, that the teaching must be done both in the field and in the classroom; third, that the instruction in the field could profitably learn from the medical school in giving students contact with clinical material; and, fourth, that the classroom instruction could profitably be modeled, to an extent, after the case teaching already developed both in the medical schools and in the law schools. There were still uncertainties as to the relationship of the school to the college and the university on the one hand; and, beyond attempting to assume responsibility for the selection of future workers and the co-operation of the school and agency in the field-work enterprise, the relationship of the school to the agency had not been clarified. It may be said that on the first of these there have in the intervening years been introduced more complicating factors which are, however, now being cleared up, and, with reference to the latter, the schools had thought that that, too, had been pretty definitely placed among those questions about which there was a reasonable agreement. But according to a statement in the May issue of the *Compass*:¹ "Chapters and individual members over the country are trying to define their position as to the relationship between professional education and definite staff training programs in social work." Surely, it should not be too difficult, at least it should not be impossible, to indicate the desirable relationship, so that "chapters and individual members all over the country" may devote their attention to other questions on which there is still wider disagreement or less unanimity than on this one. It is not my purpose to indicate those other problems but rather to describe the present attitude of the schools to the widening horizon at the moment opening before their eyes.

It is, perhaps, true that those who see the nature of some of the tasks in social-work practice and see also areas in educational programs widening out, so that new services at new levels of successful treatment seem possible, deceive themselves when

¹ Vol. XVII, No. 8, p. 7.

they describe those services as professional in character and the facilities for preparation as professional education. If social work is a craft, it can be learned on the job, and it may be that the narrower the field of practice the more rapidly can a high degree of repetitive skill be obtained. Then the silversmith working on the always uniform precious metal is the analogue, instead of such callings as that of the lawyer, the medical practitioner, the educationist, or the spiritual adviser bringing service to strangely varying human need.

The new assistant in the lawyer's office who has passed his bar examination and is admitted to employment is asked only "Which school?" not "Was there a school at all?" So with the new medical practitioner. The experience in the hospital, in the sick room where there are still so many things to learn, comes after the three or four years in the program combining classroom instruction, laboratory work, and teaching in contact with clinical material.

Should it not be so with new practitioners in the field of social work? Will the agency not do its part? Will its resources not be strained to the limit, if in the rapidly widening world of social service it first enables the school to develop with the students of the school instruction in the field, and then enables the worker, for whom the school has done its share, to grow with her experience, to utilize what has been appropriated from the school experience, to throw back to the school what lessons can be learned from this new experience as to the extent to which those responsible for the schools understand in realistic ways the field for which they claim to prepare their students? For there may, of course, be some wishful thinking and some rationalization on their part. It should, in fact, be noted that there are in the general vocational field two quite divergent views. The program of one junior college of which I know, organized under the guidance of a distinguished educationist, is directed toward the preparation of prospective employees who are taught to do just what the closest analysis of the job shows to be the practice today. On the other hand, I have been told of a medical school

which was reorganized on the basis of preparing for medical practice as it should be rather than as it is understood to be by the state examiner. During the early years after the reorganization, many of the students graduating from the school failed to pass the state examinations and so were unable to enter upon the practice of their chosen profession. Somewhere between these two extremes, however, there may surely be found persons able honestly to observe the service called for by the individual in distress, translate that observation into an interpretation of the individual's request in the light of his true need, relate that need to the community situation, note the degree to which the students who go out seem to develop their jobs and themselves in constructive ways, and re-work both the scheme of the curriculum and the content of the course units offered in the light of those observations.

Reference to this possibility calls for an examination of the task for which preparation is to be given. What is that task? Is it not dealing with individuals possibly in distress, possibly simply less advantageously placed than many others, in the light of their individual claim for aid and treatment under the existing standards of well-being? It is, first of all, an attempt at individualization in dealing with a person whose situation presents a problem of which the community thinks that notice should be taken. There are involved many complicated and complicating factors—in the individual, in his surroundings, in the relationship of his situation to the general level of well-being, and the general attitude toward inequalities and unevennesses in the enjoyment by human beings of the satisfactions generally available in the present state of the arts and of the social, economic, occupational, and governmental order of the day. In other words, the social worker presupposes a minimum of well-being. When an individual or a group falls below that level, the social worker's services seem called for (1) to find out why this misfortune and (2) to assist in readjusting the individual to that level.

First of all, then, it is a procedure in individualization. Now

the possibility of individualizing the person with whom the practitioner has to do is the great dilemma confronting every profession of which I know. The situation of the legal profession is, perhaps, the most striking in relation to this effort. The history of the attempt to bring order into criminal-law administration during the past 175 years, since Montesquieu suggested that the punishment should fit the crime, is one of not infrequent conflicts between the idea of equity which was that of individualization—a government of men—and the general principle that a government should be of laws.²

The struggle between the more conservative and the progressive elements among the public education authorities marks the same dilemma. Everywhere, in all professions, in the light of these difficulties the curriculum of the professional school is being reconsidered and scrutinized; but nowhere else is it proposed to abandon the school and return to the preschool method of preparation. If there were time, one might recall the elements essential to a professional calling. It may be assumed that those elements are in the minds of those who listen. It is also assumed that the groups for whose service preparation has been developed into a curriculum will be kept in mind.

If, then, the social worker is to be prepared to serve in a constructive way the individual whose need may be related to any of these multifarious and complicated situations, what are the essential elements of a curriculum? It is clear, as Miss Reynolds said last year, that there is a great deal to learn, and obviously no time should be wasted. It must obviously be done by qualified persons who find the conditions for their work favorable; by those to whom is given the opportunity of thinking closely, consecutively, uninterruptedly on problems and methods of education. Shaw did say that those who can, do, and those who can't, teach; but there are possibilities of observation of the doing in relation to the previous preparation of the practitioner

² To develop this would require a review of Montesquieu, Beccaria, our Bills of Rights, recent literature like Margaret Turner's *The Crime of Punishment*, Dr. Mary Gordon, Salleilles' *The Individualization of Punishment*, etc.

hardly available to the responsible practitioner under the burden of the day's work.

There is a preliminary question of requirements for admission in the way of general education. So far, the Association of Schools of Social Work has not been able to secure a membership entirely on a graduate basis. This is, however, being rapidly attained, and by the end of another year the schools now in the membership have agreed either to be on a graduate basis or to withdraw from membership, which no one desires to come to pass.

With reference to the content of this program or curriculum, as has been said, for twenty-five years three elements have been regarded as essential. First, the combination of teaching in the field and teaching in the classroom. In both these places the educational organization should in my judgment be responsible for the instruction, its content, its amount, and its level of respect for the students' capacity to learn. One great difference between the learning on the job and the teaching in the field is that in the latter, since here the interest of the student and of the client are identical, the attention of the instructor can within the limits of the agency's resources be given more exclusively to the student. In this respect it is more nearly possible really to individualize the student as well as the client, and this is highly important if there are to be brought into the service persons the very depth of whose capacity for development may result in greater deliberation and apparently slower growth. The rate at which the student is exposed to new experiences, the exact nature of the experience, the succession of experiences, the use of more than one kind of experience—all these are features of instruction in the field by an educational institution hardly attainable by the most skilfully organized instruction on the job.

As to the instruction in the classroom, the two points to be noted are the subject matter and the use of teaching materials. About the latter the only comment is that so far as possible the teaching materials should be reduced to a shape which will facilitate the use of the students' time in class and stimulate fur-

ther use of original sources. The collection, arrangement, and publication of these materials is a difficult and time-consuming and costly process, so that this service should so far as possible be rendered by the institutions that are adequately equipped.

A third essential is the opportunity for research. Reference will again be made to this, for there comes next the question of the content of the curriculum. This has been dealt with by the Association of Schools in a realistic way, which means recognition of agreements and differences in the practice of the member schools. The so-called "minimum curriculum" contains besides the field work four groups of courses. It is not possible to characterize these groups, and yet they are so related that, in the case of three out of the four, fewer than the whole list are accepted as fulfilling the requirements³ of the Association.

There is a group of three courses (A) consisting of three courses, "Case Work with Medical and Psychiatric Information," all of which are required; there is a second group of three courses (B) "Community Organization," "Group Work," and "Specialized Case Work," of which two are required; a group of four courses (C) "Public Welfare Administration," "Child Welfare," "The Field of Social Work," and "Problems of Labor and Industry." Of these four only two are required. The fourth group is made up of "Statistics," "Social Research," "Social Legislation," and "The Law and Social Work." Of these four, only one is required. It will be agreed that this minimum curriculum is indeed a minimum, but attaining even that minimum on a graduate level has not yet been achieved.

It might be noticed, however, that in the curriculum there are, besides the field work, fourteen courses provided of which only eight are required. Obviously then a small addition to the program of a school with careful organization of material would make available for the student a two-year program. It may also be noticed that "Social Research" is one of the courses required

³ If the question "requirements for what?" were raised, the reply would have to be "requirements for an anticipated certificate" to be granted by the Association that has not yet been realized.

of the school but not one required as yet of every student. It will, however, be agreed that an understanding of the principles of research and an attitude of mind recognizing the degree to which all social-work instruction and social-work practice is near what one might call "the margin of the unknown" are essential for any adequate preparation. And, as in the case of the instruction in the field in contact with the client, so it is important that the student should enjoy a real experience in a research enterprise.⁴

Attention has been called to those subjects on which from the beginning, perhaps, there has been general agreement. Notice may now be taken of some of those on which agreement has been much more slowly attained. The importance, for example, of the public authority in the field now described as "welfare" was one on which there were such differences that instruction in so-called public welfare aspects of social-work practice was introduced in some schools at a much later date than in others. And it is true now that, while instruction in public welfare is required of the schools, like social research, it is not required of all students.

Another subject on which there has been slowly developing agreement is the generalized as over against the specialized nature of the desirable curriculum. Some schools, possibly because of the nature of their origin, provided instruction in family welfare, in child welfare, in group work, organizing this instruction in fields quite distinct each from the other. On the other hand, some schools have taken the position from the beginning that their responsibility was the education of persons who should enter a field of social work recognizing the probability of the worker's passing from one area in the field to another and applying the practice again of the medical and legal professions, which leaves specialization to the latter part of the curriculum or to determination after entrance upon practice itself. Upon this

⁴ That research should have been embodied in the programs of the schools in the early days was undoubtedly due to the foresight of Mr. John M. Glenn who as the director of the Russell Sage Foundation made for five years grants to the schools to be utilized in the preparation of qualified research persons in this field.

subject there is now reasonable agreement, and the selection of the courses indicated is supposed to supply at least a generalized foundation.

Still a third question which has somewhat divided the educational group is the relationship for purposes of the curriculum of the so-called "welfare" activities to the activities in other fields more or less closely related, especially perhaps those of education, health, and labor. Reference will be made at a later point to this question and to its implications under the recent developments of the security program.

In his admirable study for the so-called Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel of *Training Public Employees in Great Britain* Professor Harvey Walker calls attention to the fact that there are three interests to be kept in mind, that of the special authority, that of the worker, and that of the service in its entirety. There are apparent conflicts among and between the three, but the interests of the three are in reality one and the same. The same consideration should be kept in mind in the field of social work. And he lays stress on the part of the authority in giving later training on the job. That the educational institution can participate in this later educational process is also pointed out by Professor Walker, and may be in our thoughts, too; but that is perhaps another chapter. Obviously the minimum curriculum is below a minimum of preparation for service of a truly professional character; but many schools provide two or more years, and a requirement of two years is now lying on the table of the Association of Schools to be considered at its next business meeting.

As to the actual content of the curriculum, obviously it will grow with the development of social work and will change as conditions both within and without the schools may change. It becomes possible as the student body is composed of more mature and better-prepared students to do the same work in less time and make place for additional material. As the teaching materials gradually take shape and qualified teachers become available, the curriculum can be constantly broadened and en-

riched. As the practice may change, what was before a process to be learned, or at least examined, may become chiefly of historic interest, and emphasis must be laid on new approaches either revealed through an analysis of the problem or suggested by some experimental venture (e.g., the children and minor wards, foster-home care for older young people, the abandonment of the receiving home or the detention home, etc.). Changes in what might be called the proportions in the curriculum will result from contact with the field itself.

There comes a moment when the educationalist sees a body of material take on a new aspect of unity, sequence, or reasonable adequacy, and a new course becomes possible. The question may be asked in a spirit of skepticism, even with some amusement, if a syllabus can really be prepared, for example, for courses in field work. If this cannot be done, it is not honest to ask university credit for such instruction. To me has come not infrequently but never unaccompanied by a thrill the realization that it is possible to put together in ways that command the attention and interest of well-trained, able young people, all of whom are in their field work seeing themselves related to real situations, a new series of considerations, some of a historical character—"This was tried with this result"—some analytical—"Those factors were lacking"—some interpretative, and some suggestive. The result is that between instructor and student there arises a new basis of examination of possible treatment, and one feels a little more secure, a little less empirical, a little nearer to what may be called a truly professional undertaking.

The job of curriculum-building is, therefore, never done, but the general outlines indicated by an examination of the situation do not greatly change. What happens is that empty spaces within the outer limits are filled in and the whole is enriched. Twenty-five years ago, for example, it was known that medical information should be included, but this information could then be obtained only from the generous but brief contribution made by Dr. Cabot; because while the need was realized just what was

needed was not known. That could be learned only from some one like Dr. Cabot, and there was no one else like Dr. Cabot.

It was known, too, that to understand the psychiatric factors in delinquency and dependency were likewise essential; but again there was only one Dr. Healy. It was in 1911 that he gave the first course in this subject. What Miss Marcus asks in preparation for psychiatric understanding follows twenty-five years later. It was known that the work of the public services as well as of the private agencies must give to the schools the results of their developing practice, but the private agencies in many cases looked down on the public services, and the public services developed an inferiority complex. But in some cases, as in the case of the U.S. Children's Bureau and the Cook County Juvenile Court, they challenged the schools to supply the qualified personnel they so sorely needed. And so the organization of the various courses has gone on and on. There was, too, an awareness of the need for understanding the financial aspects and supplying skill in budgeting and accounting; but one had to draw the line somewhere in the face of a general lack of appreciation of this need. The dictatorship of the finance official has recently made many skilled social workers suffer for this deficiency in the school program.

And now the schools look with eagerness at this new nationwide prospect of security, with its possible demand for persons qualified not only in the older earlier ways but also for enriching the new situations in which what has been called welfare fuses with a hoped-for security resting upon contract and not simply on need. There is, for example, to be no means test in connection with its distribution of benefits. But while there is no need such as is judged and estimated by a means test, there are, if one may learn the lesson from English experience and from the workmen's compensation experience in the United States, innumerable instances where the lack of an individualizing service vastly reduces the true utility of the benefit received and so the essential value extracted from the taxpayer or the employer.

It is fortunate that the proposal for a minimum program of two graduate years is not only in effect in many of the schools but is recognized as a reasonable demand for all in the near future. This will mean that for the students in all the schools will be provided the opportunity of being challenged by their prospective professional interest in at least the three directions indicated: (1) in their capacity to establish the kind of relationships with persons needing treatment out of which constructive treatment may be expected to emerge—this is the field-work job; (2) in being made aware of the bases of treatment in the mental, physical, and social factors determining the treatment in the individual case—this is the object of the courses in "Case Work," "Child Welfare," "Psychiatric and Medical Information"; and (3) in likewise supplementing such preprofessional work as they may have done in the biological, historical, and social sciences by definite examination of the public organization and community relationship, together with special studies of institutional development such as makes possible the use of existing resources and the swift discovery of possible new resources.

One important result has been hardly mentioned for lack of time to present it adequately. But an essential feature of professional activity is its consciousness of being near the borders of the unknown and the constant pressure by experimentation and critical evaluation to push back those boundaries. The development of this habit of thought and practice is a responsibility of the graduate professional school, of whose program research and publication should be constant and conspicuous features.

Two subjects remain of which at least brief mention should be made. First, the question of numbers. It may be asked to what extent the schools may be expected to meet the demand for new members of the practicing group. There are thirty schools in the Association and a number of others on their way to qualify. This is not the place to discuss the degree to which those in the

Association fulfil the qualifications laid down for admission. Some of these are making every effort really to meet the challenge of the new demand. But without regard to the variations in the quality of work offered, there is the question of number. On November 1, 1935, there were registered (majoring) in the schools 5,296, of whom 880 were men and 4,416 were women; of whom 3,970 were graduate and 1,186 were undergraduate. During the previous year (1934-35), 8,406 different students took some work in one of the schools. These are few compared with those recently needed in the emergency relief service. How soon the need under the security program will develop cannot be now told, but, granted that for the present the supply may be inadequate, the question suggests itself as to whether the development should not be fostered instead of renewing old obstacles and creating new sources of uncertainty.

The second is the readiness with which the schools respond to new challenges, new sources of pressure, new demands. In this same division last year at Montreal Miss Brown described the F.E.R.A. experiment of sending 912 selected students from thirty-two states to twenty-one of the schools of social work. This number of those sent by the F.E.R.A. was increased by 221 sent by the state administrations, so that in all 1,133 different persons were added from this source. The twenty-one schools were with one exception in the Association of Schools (and that exception has since been admitted to the Association) and were schools offering graduate professional work of a quality sufficiently commending itself to the Federal Relief Administration. This action by the relief administration was recognized as an act of true statesmanship and was met by the schools in a spirit of courage and co-operation. In the same way, the challenge of the new security legislation has meant that the Association stands ready to be of service by a modification of curriculum, and by the development of new types of courses, if this seems desirable, at times of the day or the year other than the usual periods and perhaps, as before, in other places than the

ordinary classroom or the agencies and authorities of the locality of the school. Extra-mural instruction may prove necessary and, if so, the schools will, I believe, not find it impossible.

In connection with the F.E.R.A. experiment there was no exception. Every school requested to co-operate did so. It is true that since that time some schools in some communities have been unable or unwilling to readjust their work to the increased numbers applying for admission. They are, however, all trying now to prepare for such new demands in numbers, in curriculum content, and in expert conference and consultation with those responsible for developing the new services that make up the security program.

From what I have said it is evident that the school of social work is an essential factor of social-work development. It has been said that no profession or calling can rise above the source in educational provision. On the other hand, the school cannot go far ahead of the support given by the profession. The same kinds of questions arise in all the professions, and it is, therefore, not surprising if those responsible for the development of the professional association in this as in other fields grow impatient and insist on the adoption of measures that sometimes seem to the officers of the schools backward steps. They may not have had occasion to realize what a danger to the best may be found in the good, or even in the better. And who in the midst of so many such difficult problems dares claim to have the only solution? Judgment, as I have said, is the Lord's. The final rate of advance must be decided by the group in its collective determination.

THE CASE WORKER'S PROBLEM IN INTERPRETATION

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THE very mention of the word "interpretation" evokes a series of unpleasant associations in the minds of case workers. The failure to interpret case work looms in our modern annals as a weakness which we have not yet effectively corrected. We realize the delinquency is serious; we want to do better if for no other reason than to silence reproaches which have grown stale with repetition. We do not really believe that we are inarticulate because we have nothing to say, but often the response we make to the need of explaining ourselves seems forced and arbitrary, unrelated to the meanings case work has for us and our clients. We need to ask ourselves why interpretation is so dissociated from the interests that motivate the rest of our activity. Perhaps in our anxiety to meet an obligation to interpret to the layman, we have minimized the primary necessity for building that base of critical self-understanding which is not only essential to rational explanation to outsiders but to the realistic pursuit of our internal technical and professional development. May it not be possible to reconcile our interest in a deeper comprehension of case work with our interest in comprehending and being comprehended by the public?

Even when we resolve to dedicate ourselves to more and better interpretation, we have to struggle with strong resistances so familiar that we no longer recognize how deeply they inhibit the free flow of thought and feeling from which the impulse to expression springs. We cannot help but connect interpretation with special pleading for support and funds. We realize that

many of the statements made to secure public funds or private contributions are confirming in the public those prejudices which on the one hand consign the clients of case work to the limbo of the weak, abnormal, and degraded, and on the other prevent social workers from laying any claim to professional status. Our difficulty is that we have devised no practical escape from appeals to the pity which marks its objects as inferior, to the sentimentality which unconsciously evades responsible understanding of human suffering, and to the fear which prompts donations chiefly to keep at bay the social menace presumably incorporated in our clients. Since this is so, there has seemed nothing for us to do but to cultivate a superficial callous to these implied misrepresentations not only of our clients and their problems but of our own purposes and methods—misrepresentations which the organized attack on the community purse seems to entail. Privately we feel keenly the incompatibility between this publicity and our real aims and interests; it is as personally humiliating to us to have to rely so heavily on interpretation of this sort as it would be for the medical profession to have to rely on patent-medicine ads for public support and tolerance of medical practice. Yet little as we like the expedients to which economic necessity makes us resort, since the economic necessity persists to a critical degree and we have found no way out of the impasse, our most powerful “educational” impact on the general community is exerted by money-raising appeals.

Because we have so far produced little interpretation of our own that is sufficiently rooted in the realities of case work to promise us rescue from our moral dilemma, we have taken refuge in a series of questionable adjustments which may further confuse the issue for us. We suffer financial publicity as a kind of unavoidable indignity—a mass begging for our clients and, in so far as administrative budgets are concerned, for ourselves. Most of us feel a personal aversion to asking people for money, and our underlying resentment of money-raising procedures has confirmed this need to alienate ourselves from the economic issue and to delegate to a specialized group various responsibilities of

a policy-determining character, the exercise of which is integral to our own development. This transfer to a peripheral group of functions inseparable from the central concerns of case work has retarded our accepting realistically the problems intrinsic in a profession's relationships to the rest of society. Our involvement in an embarrassing fanfare leaves us with a disquieting sense of guilt about doing in actuality work quite different in intent, method, and results from that our contributors are encouraged to believe we are doing. In reaction to this discrepancy we are sometimes driven to feel that both we and our clients are classes apart and thus to embrace them in a defensiveness against the community which amounts to an unintended confession of their inferiority and ours.

We sometimes attribute this breach between the public and us to a general retrogression in case work's community practice, a fall from an earlier state of grace, but this superficial analysis does not take into account the cultural factors which have shaped our development and detached us from the public in a more fundamental sense than we recognize when we refer to our isolation as self-chosen. Except in periods of such crises as war and severe economic depression precipitate, the community has habitually regarded the problems with which we deal as alien to its own direct interest and experience, and peculiar to people who are constitutionally different and inferior. It has entertained mixed feelings of pity, fear, and disgust for maladjustments it needed to believe derive from individual defect, abnormality, and degradation; therefore, it has been able to grant them only the grudging consideration exacted by traditional concepts of charity or civic duty. Consequently, as social workers, we have had to contend with a stubborn apathy, sue for sympathetic tolerance, and be content with an understanding that seldom included any objective realization that the problems of the client group are not specific to them but rather are inherent in life as it confronts all human beings in our society. When the public can feel no organic relation to the client group, it is scarcely to be expected that it should feel one to us; the

common ground to which it admits us is a narrow emotional frontier strongly fortified against direct encounters with a suffering fundamentally harder for the average person to face because his resources for meeting it squarely in his own life are still so meager. For this reason we cannot hope to convert the public as a whole to any disinterested appreciation of the various kinds of distress with which we deal, and though we may slowly win respect and confidence in individual contacts with laymen, we must look elsewhere for the intellectual understanding which may gradually establish us in that position of authority and usefulness which the older professions have laboriously won.

Once we realize how young a profession we are and how ingrained in our culture are the attitudes opposed to any acceptance of our basic views, we may see the events of recent years in a clarifying relation to the problems of our future growth. When the onset of unemployment converted the problems of dependency into dangers knocking at every man's door and threatening every man's purse, it was inevitable that our still unacknowledged authority in the field of relief administration be frequently ignored, and our experience drastically discounted. The widespread panic which brought these issues into the public arena as emergent economic and political questions aroused at the same time all the dormant defenses which society has tried to erect against its secret ills. The spectacle which rapidly unfolded before us was painful to witness: suffering frequently unalleviated or increased by the methods adopted to relieve it; precious time and effort squandered in various programs which were invalidated in advance by their scant observance of minimum social-work standards; and the further public and professional understanding, so indispensable to the responsible handling of profoundly complicated problems, forfeited in a chaos of reckless trial and error. Our insight into what was happening made us highly sensitive to the absence in the community of any convinced demand for our leadership and later of support for social work against attack. Moreover, it was disconcerting to discover that when we needed ammunition to maintain a

familiar professional principle, we encountered grave disagreements among ourselves and a lack of facts and reasoned arguments to sustain established convictions. A great deal of the time we seemed condemned to be helpless bystanders or ineffective participants in a mass situation where every kind of mistake known to the long history of social work was ingeniously repeated, and repeated without the saving compensation accruing from other unfortunate experiences—the consciousness of what errors have been made, why the problem remains unsolved, and how the past might be used to make a more accurate diagnosis and initiate more realistic treatment.

It would be possible for us to overlook the important values we might derive from our recent experiences if we analyzed them to improve our orientation to issues in our own development which have previously been only dimly apprehended. What we are pleased to call defects in our understanding, flaws in our performance, and weaknesses in our public position are difficulties natural to our stage in evolution. Social work, like any other growth, is the product of external and internal forces which cannot be evaded, eradicated, or transformed by a mere effort of the will but must instead be progressively studied if we are to increase our command over them. The practical temper of social work which is so intolerant of present limitations often disposes us to resist the long, devious process by which professional competence, stability, and status are achieved and through which alone a practical adequacy gradually is extended. The far perspective may daunt us because it seems so unrelated to the besetting concerns of today and forces us to face the snail's pace of any deep, full growth, yet without it our practicalities may become irrelevant expenditures of energy instead of planned means to a patiently conceived end.

Some of the immaturities we became conscious of derive from the fact that case work has evolved within an agency frame, has been naturally oriented to the agency's situation and responsibilities, and has found its most compelling stimulus to growth in its obligation to serve the agency's clients more effectively.

Much of our progress has been encouraged by agency ambitions and nourished under agency auspices. There can be no question but that we owe whatever definitions we have achieved of function and functional limitations to necessities arising from agency operation.

In the first place, since agency demands have been exacting, we have not been exposed to any other test of our conviction about what we were doing than our interest and adequacy in serving the agency and its clients. Necessary and useful as agencies are for client service and case-work development, the customary restriction of our concerns to those entailed upon us as employees set bounds to our altruism, limited our loyalties, and spared us any disturbing challenge as to how willing we were to work for something beyond our salaries, our status in the agency, and our specific clients, and to use our individual initiative, as members of a professional group, to satisfy voluntary, wider allegiances. For reassurance about the soundness of our beliefs and practices we had been able to rely on our capacity to measure up to our agency's criteria and on the indorsement of an agency board whose simple acceptance of our right to exist relieved us of the necessity for accounting clearly for the rationale of our operations. This protection has served good purposes in the past and will in the future, for it has given us freedom to experiment without having to justify the immediate values of every step we take, but it has dulled us to the obligation to pursue further questions for which there are no answers except those we find by group and individual study inspired by the professional need to know.

This concentration of life within the agency has resulted naturally from the forms in which social work has been organized and from the conditions under which case work has developed, and it is not strange that we were not more aware of the narrow individualism that still governed the environment in which we had been bred. Until emergencies arose which involved the interests of all social work we case workers were so habituated to agency jealousies and competition, the isolation of the social-

work fields from one another, and the scramble for local funds and dominance that we did not realize how divided and dissipated were the energies required for the study of common professional problems.

We cannot dismiss this condition of being agency-bound without noting some of its effects on case work. Our asylum within our agencies weakened our provocations to organize our experience and knowledge for practical use, to adapt ourselves intellectually and emotionally to the exciting struggle for professional existence and growth, or even to identify the basic questions we needed to confront. To the events of the last six years we owe an increased comprehension of obligations which our comfortable agency circumstances had made thin theory for us. We had previously had only our own questions to answer; now we have questions from without to test our capacity for understanding and making understood why we are doing what we do. Thus we have acquired an invaluable incentive to the detachment which real self-understanding demands and which the necessity for explanation to others can promote.

Our concern with the problem of interpretation will not be productive until we perceive that it is not a problem on the circumference of case work but a problem related to its core, that interpretation has other functions than that of defense against deficits or even declining case loads, and that it must be grounded in a thorough command of the matter to be "elucidated" or "translated into intelligible or familiar language." An important base for interpretation is the clear, technical, and professional exposition which explores the whole area of case work and accepts nothing on faith, tradition, or mere contagion, which establishes a steady stream of reference from data to generalization, and endeavors to test even the A B C's of case-work practice to organize evidence and define principles. This is an undeveloped field of clinical analysis and synthesis into which we have been able to venture only with stray papers inadequately weighted with case-work data and seldom sufficiently related to the needs of professional growth to give us any thor-

ough understanding of the process by which practices, methods, and theories are tested, revised, and retested to a greater precision and usefulness. We possess at the present time almost no facilities for clinical exposition and interchange, but when we recognize an essential need and demand that it be met, resources for meeting it will be created.

We have been considering some of the environmental factors which have conditioned our attitudes toward interpretation and our capacity to interpret effectively: the resistances associated with money-raising activities; our isolation from the public; our confinement within agency precincts; our lack of resources for clinical exposition. There are, however, other influences intimately connected with our developing case work that have baffled our attempts at self-explanation and involved us in difficulties with the individual layman and the non-case-working social worker from which further study would extricate us.

In several groups of New York case workers who undertook to investigate the problem of interpretation, that problem was seen as essentially one created by the responses the layman automatically makes to difficulties within the personality, social behavior, and human relationships of the client. The case worker finds the layman standing on the opposite side of an abyss formed by his beliefs in the values of will-power, discipline, force, and punishment as agencies for controlling and improving behavior; by his subscription to a fixed moral code and social standards; by his refusal to conceive of certain motives, impulses, and behavior as occurring in anyone who is not *ipso facto* abnormal and degenerate; by his blindness to the irrationalities which limit personal accountability; by his need to simplify human problems; by his fears of relief as an encouragement to pauperism; by his suspicion of administrative costs as a graft; by his unwillingness to concede any authority to the special knowledge, training, and experience of the case worker, etc., *ad infinitum*. As discussion in these two groups proceeded, we presently became conscious that it was permeated by our resentment of laymen for having the conventional ideas and at-

titudes which had informed the earlier history and practice of case work and which in each of us had been outgrown or modified only in the course of a special training and experience. As soon as we realized the implication of this, we recognized that our antagonism to the layman for not seeing eye to eye with us was in itself unreasonable and unconsciously denied the peculiar knowledge, training, and skill we wanted him to respect as our distinctive possession. It appeared that we were declining, perhaps in unconscious revenge, to give him any status and were missing the opportunity to individualize him and see him in his own character. What particularly impressed us in review of these misunderstandings was our unawareness of the peculiar nature of our knowledge, principles, and methods. It was evident that we had not been intellectually oriented to the real significance of the changes which determine our individual evolution from a lay to a professional status, did not distinguish differences which had their source in a special education, and were floundering in confusion not only about the identity of the layman but about our own professional identity as case workers.

Further inquiry revealed that much of our difficulty arose from the fact that our assimilation of a series of scientific hypothesis from the field of psychoanalysis had not yet been carried through to the point of a fresh intellectual integration. We had imbibed the theory of the unconscious, bit by bit, with effects that were influencing what we saw, felt, and did in reaction to people, their situations, their behavior, and their personal problems. We had come, slowly and unevenly, to function differently, without however appreciating fully the radical nature of a difference that owed its source to a gradually acquired scientific orientation. We had, for instance, quite generally adopted the thesis that the case worker needs to be free from the critical, judgmental reactions which spring from adherence to a personal moral code. It became clear that in the early stages of her education and training the case worker had concluded that this freedom from moral bias should reside in any normal person because the obstacles to it which she had heard emphasized

were problems within the self which must be recognized and controlled. Consequently, she had converted into a moral imperative binding on people in general and on all relationships what in this reference is a requisite only for a particular professional relationship; she did not realize that the necessity for this "objectivity" is a special one defined by psychoanalysis as a result of its efforts to establish reliable conditions for the observation, understanding, and treatment of its problems: that is the case worker tries to be clear of personal reactions or to take their presence into account for exactly the same reason that a chemist has to know what is in his test tubes or a biologist that his slides are clean.

Another illustration of our confusion about the significance, and relevance of ideas borrowed from psychoanalysis is furnished by the case-work concept of "self-determination," because this, too, has sometimes been converted into a personal creed. Properly speaking, the theory of determinism demands only that the human being be scientifically viewed as a biological organism whose functioning is determined by the nature of its structure and the necessity for coming to terms both with its instinctive needs and the conditions and requirements of the environment. A distortion of this proposition into a social or emotional "right" might lead the case worker into subtle but no less disturbing conflicts with the layman from which a corrected understanding of a scientific principle would save both him and her.

We might sum up some of the deductions to which group discussion brought us as to the general character of the differences which distinguish the case worker's functioning from the layman's. In the first place, the case worker actually observes attitudes and behavior which the layman is not trained to see though he may as an individual have a special alertness to some of them. In the second place, the case worker frequently attaches a different meaning to what she sees, a meaning which was discovered by research in that realm of the mind which is hidden from consciousness. Thirdly, the case worker postulates

interrelationships between physical needs, mental phenomena, experience, and the environment on the basis of a theory constructed from data inaccessible to the layman. The gulf between the case worker and the layman, then, cannot be accurately explained as one created by the latter's intellectual or emotional inferiorities but is rather the inevitable consequence of the case worker's specialized knowledge and experience. A full realization of the differences would relieve us of the burden of trying to explain what is often inexplicable and would leave us free to apply ourselves to the challenging problems of understanding our professional functioning, defining its principles and hypotheses, and so arriving at a sounder conception of what it is possible to translate into convincing, familiar language. To achieve this we would have to develop a technical exposition which would enable us to uncover defects and gaps in our background knowledge, misconceptions of the application of that knowledge to case work, and inadequate understanding of the basis for common practices. From this activity would emerge a more ordered comprehension of the rationale of our procedures and a better command of our resources for non-technical interpretation.

We must not, however, dispose of the lay public without further consideration of our relations to it. We have found ourselves in a community arena, a battleground of contending forces not concerned to acknowledge our usefulness—but as a battleground more real than our former shelf. For the most part the pathology of our society—economic, political, and social—was until recently less visibly active. Now we have a much better opportunity to recognize as real, dynamic, and inescapable the operation of powerful social forces and to discover in the gross condition the facts about organic structure and functioning which were less apparent in the “latent state.” We can see that understanding the public involves more than the biased guesswork in which purveyors of popular entertainment engage, that it entails a new kind of study of the operating energies in society which are receptive or averse to any acceptance and use

of our knowledge and experience. The "public" is an unmanageable, speculative concept, readily distorted by our moods and prejudices. We need to recognize the danger of thinking in mass images, to identify the conflicting interests and opinions of various groups and institutions which are related to the problems of social work itself, and to distinguish as well as we can the concrete issues which we must progressively mobilize our resources to meet. We might see the forces antagonistic to social welfare not in superficial terms of irresponsible, malevolent, or asocial groups but in a historical and cultural perspective that will enable us to understand what conditions their identities and compels them to action. Any such interest cannot be satisfied within one year or fifty though a proper direction of it would be practically helpful to us in the course of our more immediate development. For thorough, scholarly comprehension we must await the development of a science of human relations which really explores the interrelations between the functioning organism of a culture and the functioning organism of the individual, a development which such a sociology as that envisaged in John Dollard's *Criteria for the Life History* promises to undertake. In the meantime we case workers might be more attentive to the superstitions, evasions, hostilities, misunderstandings, and miracle-mongering which various groups in the community and public life display in their reaction to the issues directly affecting social work; if we wish to anticipate rather than be surprised by opposition, we must be intellectually prepared with material organized about controversial points as they will confront us from without.

We have all recently felt what it might mean to us as individuals to be able to transmit what little we have discovered and to influence those efforts to deal with helpless deprivation and suffering which are now confused and self-defeating. The business of becoming a profession cannot be accomplished in a day or a generation. It involves each and every one of us in an undiscouraged pursuit of greater adequacy, in the patient building of foundations, in a communion of interest in the conquest of

difficulties. A profession is not a private corporation serving only its customers, however meritorious these customers may be. It is under an inalienable obligation to acquaint whatever groups are responsibly related to its problems with the contribution it has to offer. It must have status if the methods it deems appropriate to meet particular problems are to be accepted as expert and followed by those who lack its basis for sound judgment. Status has larger values than those of individual gratification and advancement; it is an essential to the discharge of the social responsibilities which a professional group assumes in designating certain problems and tasks as its own. Status is acquired only through the development of a serviceable knowledge and a capacity to interpret that knowledge so that its appropriate uses may be understood. The capacity to interpret is as integral to all the phases of professional development as the capacity to talk is integral to the development of the normal individual. The question for us as case workers is whether we believe sufficiently in the fundamental values case work serves, to struggle patiently to bring them to light in a society threatened with disintegration because it neither knows nor uses them.

CONTRIBUTION OF CASE WORK TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

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CASE work is a way of dealing with human beings and their needs, a way of working with people, of thinking about them. If it has value at all, it should be transferable from one field of human needs to another. The restrictions and forms of a particular agency may make certain characteristic variations in the nature of the activities we undertake, but within that structure we shall still need and be able to use a fundamental approach.¹ With this thought in mind, American social workers are at present scrutinizing the development of social insurance in various European countries, trying to recognize signs of the case-work approach but, on the whole, discovering few of its familiar techniques in use. Has social insurance in Europe made any application of case work? If not, does this indicate that there has been no need for it in connection with social insurance systems?

These questions seem of considerable importance at a moment when America is launching a large-scale venture in social insurance, particularly in the fields of old age benefits and unemployment compensation, with some prospect of entering the field of health insurance in the not too distant future. American problems in organizing social insurance differ from those of Euro-

¹ E. N. Wieres, "The Applications of Case Work Theory to Public Welfare Practice," *Family*, April, 1936.

pean, and America will have to find her own way of meeting them. European experience, however, may well serve as background, and even sometimes as warning against inefficiencies and mistakes to be avoided by this vigorous newcomer in the world-wide family of social insurance systems.

In studying social insurance in Europe a number of basic facts should be remembered to clarify the picture. Although insurance systems are in effect covering practically every European country and many countries outside Europe, the pattern for all of them has been chiefly set either by the German or by the British type of organization, which are interrelated, although not identical in some important features. They represent the most comprehensive systems of public provisions against insecurity; both are compulsory, contributory, and nation-wide in coverage.

Both systems are undoubtedly well-established today, and have progressed far beyond the experimental stage. Their status as essential public institutions, independent of the hazards of political changes, is no longer in question. In effect in Germany since 1883 and in England since 1911, they have survived radical changes of public opinion and public administration, as well as violent economic crises, such as those induced by the World War, uncontrolled monetary inflation, and many years of industrial depression. During all these years and events they have grown steadily, expanding their coverage and services, and have encouraged many other countries to introduce similar schemes.

Both in Germany and in England social insurance was first conceived as a compulsory and government-controlled measure to meet industrial insecurity and unrest. Existing public welfare services were considered in both countries to be unequal to coping with the basic problem of security for the entire working population, both on account of their strictly local responsibility and method of administration, and because of their tradition of discriminating and deterrent practices. Social insurance aimed at providing compensation and services nation-wide in scope, which would not affect the social standing of the recipient in his

community and would be accessible to the majority of respectable workingmen on the basis of membership and contributions. Its administration was especially designed to make it acceptable to the insured population, since one of the objectives of initiating social insurance was the government's desire to reconcile a dissatisfied and restless working class with its government. Traditional self-help activities and patterns of administration which had been already developed in this field through voluntary and co-operative effort had to be maintained and incorporated in the new scheme, strengthening it materially in some respects, weakening it in others. Especially in the British situation there was in existence a network of friendly societies, trade-unions, voluntary relief and sick funds, mutual-aid associations of the guilds, and so on, which included in their membership more than half of all wage-earners. The pattern set by these organizations could not be ignored in setting up a new scheme. In addition, the contributory feature of the majority of European insurance schemes called for participation by workers as well as by employers, not only in financing but also in policy-making and administration.

When the Imperial Message of 1881 introduced to the German Reichstag the first nation-wide and comprehensive security program, thus opening public discussion of social insurance measures, public welfare agencies did not enjoy a particularly high standing. Social work as a profession had not yet emerged. The administration of public relief in Germany was in the hands of a bureaucracy of civil servants, skilled in military drill and public administration, but not in the art of social service. The need for some individualization by public welfare agencies had already been recognized in densely populated areas. A movement to provide this service through voluntary neighborhood units supplementing the bureaucracy developed and soon became well known, both at home and abroad, as the Elberfeld system. No extension of this system was made, however, to supply individualized service through volunteers to the newly developed institution of social insurance.

About twenty-five years later, when England prepared for social insurance, the possibilities of contributions from social work to the new venture were not entirely overlooked. As is generally known, the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1909 gave impetus to the passage of a bill establishing a national system of labor exchanges, which were also charged with the operation of a system of compulsory and contributory unemployment insurance under the National Insurance Act.

The Minority Report recommended that the particular needs of every unemployed individual be determined by means of a test to be given by the Ministry of Labor. Young unmarried men, for instance, were to be sent to the country for rehabilitation, while married men were to be kept nearer home at day training centers. Voluntary helpers were to assist in these centers, since the

strengthening of moral character, the bringing up of the will, the power to resist temptation, and the formation of regular habits could best be achieved with a degree of love and of religious faith that a government, established with a civil service staff, may not always be able to secure.²

The professional social worker was not yet on the scene, and was certainly not conceived of as a possible member of a civil service staff.

No need was felt to include the professional social worker in the original schemes or to allow for planned co-operation with public and private social agencies. Only the force and logic of common interests and objectives have gradually initiated such co-operation. In many instances it is still accidental and not controlled by established policies. In others, co-ordinated plans have been developed, but only rarely can examples be found of real integration of public and private efforts.

In order to introduce a higher degree of individualization to the services offered directly and indirectly by insurance, and in order to integrate them with other community services, a number of devices have been developed during the half century of the operation of social insurance as a governmental activity.

² *Report* (1909), pp. 1204 and 1213-14.

We may still look in vain for the professional social worker as a staff member in the vast majority of insurance agencies; but without question the case-work approach and contribution may be found in numerous phases of the network of social insurance schemes.

In some cases the device of regular local and regional conferences between insurance and social agencies has been used to further common objectives; in others, standing joint committees have been developed. Sometimes selected functions of the insurance plans have been assigned to social-work agencies; in others, without any such planning, social agencies have assumed the responsibility and are continuously supplementing insurance services by essential additions. Occasionally insurance and social-work agencies have organized as partners in independent agencies, jointly financed and controlled as a basis for joint services; and, finally, some of the most progressive insurance agencies have accepted trained social-work personnel for key positions and highly differentiated service. It is probable that a careful analysis of these arrangements and their results would show an increasing trend of adaptation of the insurance mechanism to differentiated needs recognized as such, in addition to an increasingly socialized direction of its service activities.

True social insurance, as it has been exemplified in the leading European countries, offers a great deal more than compensation for loss of income; it also presents a wide field of services inherent to its basic function. Some of these services aim simply at meeting and overcoming whatever hazard is the cause for loss of wages, such as sickness; others try to shorten the period of loss by offering specific services, such as placement and vocational guidance to shorten unemployment, or intensive medical treatment and occupational therapy to shorten periods of disability due to accidents. In the long run those services have proved to be most effective and constructive which aim at preventing the insured hazards or, at least, postponing them as far as possible. Efforts at employment stabilization may not prevent unemployment altogether but may effectively postpone and decrease it.

Health education, infant welfare activities, improved nutrition, better housing, sufficient public parks, will not abolish sickness as a problem or do away with payment of sickness benefits, but they may eventually decrease the morbidity rate of the country's total population, including both present and future generations.

Case work in the broadest sense ought to have its place in the administration of compensation as well as in the planning and administration of the insurance services. Europe, on the whole, has been more successful in embodying a case-work spirit in the insurance services than in the actual administration of benefits. America, having established the precedent of a nation-wide emergency relief administration which has demonstrated the need for case work as well as the possibility of its use in the administration of relief allowances, should be able to carry over from this experience a clearer understanding of similar needs and similar possibilities in the administration of insurance benefits, and thus do a vastly better job.

Hans Fallada, in his poignant story *Little Man, What Now?* gives a striking description of temporizing tactics, delay, and red tape in the payment of maternity benefits. When all regulations had been finally complied with, and the documents were in the mail, the young father "had lost all sense of expectation; he had been so infuriated that he had not been able to sleep. The whole thing was senseless, and we can't do a thing. We are up against a stone wall; it will never change!"

Experience and reactions such as this are not, I am afraid, exceptional. Innumerable opportunities are daily lost for creating a community of interest between insured persons and their insurance agencies, most of which, for lack of case work and basic case-work skills, have become impersonal, aloof, and strange. They deal in millions; the individual member and his plight counts for little. Thus they have lost their most important means of guarding against abuses, because all too frequently they have not given their membership any sense of identification of their own interests with those of the agency. Seldom is

enough interpretation given of the possibilities and limitations of the agencies' functions. Few agencies provide enough assistance in the elaborate processes of establishing eligibility, or take any responsibility for the fate of members during prolonged waiting periods or after sudden lay-offs on the basis of changed policies or other causes for discontinuing claims.

Insurance benefits and services are by no means stable. They depend largely on the current income of insurance fund which, as a payroll tax, may be greatly affected by shorter working hours, lower wages, and a decreasing number of workers employed during a depression. The total income of all German social insurance funds, with the exception of unemployment insurance, fell off 42 per cent in 1932 as compared to 1929—a drop from 4.3 billion marks to 2.5 billion marks. Expenditures did not drop quite as badly, being partly supplemented by reserves; but they still dropped from 4.4 to 3.3 billions, necessitating cuts and economies in many directions. As compared to the services given in 1929 representing 100 per cent, in 1934 the German health insurance was only 57 per cent effective; workmen's compensation, 78 per cent; disability and old age insurance for manual workers, 92 per cent; while the same insurance for the salaried group had been able to increase its services to 162 per cent.³

Change of income and changing policies in some emergency period may, therefore, necessitate a transfer of clients to some other agency providing subsistence and actual services. In addition, unemployment and health insurance plans definitely limit benefit periods as a routine matter, so that the problem may continue after the claim to benefit has been exhausted. No insurance plan in any field attempts to adjust compensation to meet individual budgetary needs, so that supplementation of insurance payments by some outside agency is frequently demanded.

It was brought out in the Minutes of Evidence, taken before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Page 298, that the British poor law agencies had for years been a partner of the insurance system in three respects: it had aided the needy jobless persons and their dependents who were excluded from the national scheme; it had also provided relief concurrent with unemployment benefit to those whose insurance benefit was insufficient, for instance, in the case of large families or where rents were high or the cost of living increased by prolonged sickness in the family; it had also

³ *Zentralblatt für Reichsversicherung und Reichsvorsorgung* (1935/19), p. 289.

assisted insured unemployed persons while they were serving the waiting period (regular or prolonged) or when doubtful claims were being considered by review boards.

The number of unemployed workers and their dependents who received poor relief averaged 652,000 a year during 1922 to 1934, at a total cost of 83.7 million pounds, or roughly, 418.5 million dollars.

In Germany in 1934, out of all registered unemployed, only approximately 25 per cent received compensation from the insurance fund, while 75 per cent were taken care of by different types of transition benefits and straight public assistance. Yet all of them continued to be clients of the unemployment insurance fund, as far as the public employment service and vocational counselling was concerned.⁴

In short, practically every step of the compensation procedure calls for the application of case-work procedures. They are needed in connection with all the following processes: intake, investigation of eligibility, evaluation of claims, interpretation of requirements and procedure, provision for waiting periods, rejections, and lay-offs, prevention and control of abuses, and procedure for review. A few insurance agencies have recognized these needs, especially in the most recently developed branches.

In the field of health insurance, handling of maternity benefits or follow-up work for hospital cases as well as supervision of the visiting staff has sometimes been placed in the hands of trained social workers. In German unemployment insurance (organized as late as 1927) we find social workers employed in the treatment of certain selected groups of applicants, as, for instance, in vocational guidance and junior placement of adolescents, and in vocational counseling and placement of women and unemployed professional workers. They are often found also in the bureaus dealing with handicapped people.

Lack of skilled social work in the majority of social insurance agencies has, however, challenged other agencies of the community, particularly public and private welfare agencies and labor organizations, to provide the missing services. Members of the various insurance funds are likely to turn to the service bureaus of their own trade-unions for interpretation and individualized assistance in their dealings with the social insurance

⁴ A. C. C. Hill and I. Lubin, *The British Attack on Unemployment*, p. 193.

agency. These service bureaus, in their turn, will in some cases recognize the need for more skilled help or more continuous service than they have to offer and call in the case-working agencies, public or private.

German public welfare agencies have found so many joint problems originating from or greatly affected by the procedures of the insurance agencies that they have frequently established liaison workers in unemployment compensation and health insurance offices in order to have the closest possible contact and be easily accessible to any member of the insurance fund. The British poor boards have also employed liaison officers whose principal function (especially before the passage of the new Unemployment Assistance Act) was daily consultation with employment-exchange officials, thus eliminating a good deal of red tape, correspondence, and delay in furnishing whatever service they had to offer. Case-working agencies have found some of their most constructive possibilities in such co-operative cases, where compensation is meeting primary needs and giving "essential assurance of survival, freeing thought and energy for active co-operation."

Except for placement service, the plans for American social insurance do not in this early stage of their development yet provide for the service features supplementing and underpinning compensation which have been of such vital importance in the European picture. On the other hand, commercial insurance in America has developed a wide range of services, not always limited to its own policyholders; and has entered into large-scale ventures in health and safety education and such preventive measures which are of service to the entire population. Is this not an indication that the development of services which tend to decrease risks and, incidentally, their cost may be an essential feature of American social insurance as it grows in maturity and perspective?

Some of these services (for example, vocational guidance, counseling, and placement) will be administered directly by insurance agencies; others will be handled by outside individuals

or agencies on a profit or on a non-profit basis. Examples are the provision of hospital, medical, and nursing care and institutional care for convalescents, the aged, and chronic invalids, under disability and old age pension plans. Still others might be provision for training and retraining of the unemployed in schools, on training projects, or by individual apprenticeship placements. All these services and many others not enumerated call for individualized selection and application, as well as for follow-up work. Other public benefits of an indirect nature and less closely and conspicuously related to insurance activities proper are provided through the investment of the insurance funds. Joint projects undertaken by social work and insurance agencies (both in the broadest meanings of these terms) have sometimes necessitated the establishment of an independent co-operative agency, indicating the need for a stable and permanent mechanism to bridge the gulf between the two originally somewhat hostile bodies. Education for better living, public health, public safety, improved capacity to work, is thus carried on jointly, as well as experimentation and research with similar objectives, and demonstration projects of a comprehensive and individualized nature, as, for instance, in the fields of social hygiene and medical social work.

Current grants and considerable investments of insurance funds have encouraged and widened important community resources, such as trade schools, productive of more stable employment through the development of greater skill, clinics, hospitals, homes for convalescents and chronics, public parks, playgrounds, health and educational camps, community gardens, and last, but not least, low-cost housing. In recent years some of these resources have been developed as public works, by directing unemployment insurance funds into such channels in order to provide both additional employment and maintenance for the unemployed as well as a more balanced and socialized program of community resources; but it should not be forgotten that, before this temporary and somewhat spectacular develop-

ment, health insurance and disability insurance funds had been most effectively used for years for the same purpose.

Insurance agencies have participated widely in financing by regular annual grants general community services, especially for child welfare, maternity and child hygiene, and many guidance and rehabilitation projects for handicapped people. It is impossible to state exactly how much of these contributions to the welfare of the community may be attributed to skilled interpretation of needs and wise direction on the part of social workers as an expert group; how much has grown out of the logic of the situation and a gradually developing awareness of social problems on the part of the insurance carriers proper; how much is the result of active and enlightened stimulation from the insured membership; how much is the result of constructive co-operation of all these forces and their intermingling in a body of joint experience and jointly faced responsibilities.

Whatever the causes, the results should be appreciated by none more than by the social-work profession. As Grace Marcus has said:

Do we not all know how much the inadequacy or absence of needed community facilities for diagnosis and treatment deprives all case work processes of full effectiveness, limits the success of treatment, and so diminishes the returns accruing to the case worker on her investment of professional skill and time?⁶

Social insurance seen in a broad perspective has vast possibilities for good; on the other hand, it may become another lost opportunity. It has proved to be one of the largest and most affluent of public undertakings. Shall it be operated in the interest of a limited number of taxpayers, or in the interest of the Treasury, or in the interest of the consumers, easily representing with their dependents the majority of the country's population? How can the interests of the last-named group be made paramount unless the consumer is allowed to identify himself with the undertaking so that he can exert that democratic control which is essential to its ultimate success?

⁶ *Some Aspects of Relief in Family Case Work*, p. 73.

If and when social insurance has assumed a real function of bringing security to a people, it will undoubtedly achieve this end by distributing losses resulting from the common hazards of life over wide groups of the population. Is it not also important to reinvest the funds previously spent in this field in social and cultural services, the urgent need of which will exist for many years to come?

The actual administration of insurance benefits, poorly handled though they are in many European schemes; the planning and administration of direct and indirect services growing out of the insurance plan; the social investment of insurance reserve funds in a way not to conflict with sound business administration; and, finally, the wise redirection of traditional social expenditures—all these offer an opportunity and a real challenge to a true case-work approach and a social philosophy. May I express the same thought better in the words of another of our outstanding colleagues: "We hanker to see the social worker utilizing all types of opportunities to get in his work as humanizer and socializer. We want him to be ready for an imaginative kind of social engineering."⁶

⁶ Neva R. Deardorff, *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1933*.

SOME EXPERIMENTS IN CASE WORK IN MOTHERLESS FAMILIES

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WHEN the father of a family is suddenly removed from the home through death or for some other reason, the community hastens to assist the bereaved mother and her children. Social legislation in the past has made fairly adequate provision for such contingencies by providing pensions for mothers so that the home may be kept together. But society has not been so generous in planning for the motherless family. But I should like to waive further preliminaries and be more concrete. Two days following the death of his wife, Mr. X comes into the agency office to ask our help in making plans for his family. He is extremely emotional—almost inarticulate, in fact. Perhaps it is his first experience in seeking aid from an agency. He may show a spirit of co-operation, or he may display distinct antagonism and feel the need to criticize the whole social order. But through his confusion one plea emerges with amazing clarity. He has five children to care for—his wife had been so capable there had been little for him to do. And now there was everything!

The foregoing illustrates only one type of motherlessness. There is also the mother who develops tuberculosis and must be taken care of in a sanatorium for an extended stay. Then there is the mother who, after struggling for years to cope with an increasingly difficult situation, finally seeks escape by retreating into a psychosis. She must then be institutionalized, perhaps temporarily, more often permanently. And finally, of course,

there are the situations which involve desertion or divorce. All of these are broken home situations—potential breeding places for delinquency. In his recent book, *Wayward Youth*, Dr. Aichhorn makes a significant comment when he states that the cases in his institution “came, almost without exception, from families where the home situation was disturbed, broken up, or disharmonious, regardless of the deeper, underlying causes of their delinquency.”

We were being confronted with these challenging situations in increasing numbers. In practically all of the cases which came to our attention the fathers were eager, even insistent, upon keeping the children with them. When alternatives were suggested or discussed, they constituted a real threat to him. As would be true in any case-work situation, the first concern of the social worker was to take care of the immediate need. We could not ask an individual who was extremely disturbed what he wanted to do about his situation. Our approach must always be a cautious one since we cannot blame a client for being suspicious of an agency of which he may know little or nothing. In many of the cases which came to our attention we felt that the provision of a mother substitute would meet a vital need. Frequently it was evident that the family strengths were sufficiently powerful so that the group would stay together whether we helped them or not. Perhaps with our assistance the plan might be a more desirable one. At any rate, it seemed unfair to deny these fathers the right to make their own plans simply because, through no fault of their own, they were financially unable to assume the additional responsibility of a housekeeper's wages. In families which are economically independent it is a rare thing to find a home being broken up at the death of the mother.

The housekeeping service was initiated essentially to care for motherless family situations in our own case load, particularly in those instances where the lack of wise supervision was resulting in serious delinquency. At the present time our home-making service has been in effect nearly three years. Carefully chosen women, most of them paid by the agency, have been placed in

homes to enact their rôle of mother substitute. The work did not progress smoothly and harmoniously from the very beginning. We had not expected that it would. Many problems arose which we could not have foreseen. But the number of successful ventures proved amazing, as well as gratifying. From a careful evaluation of the 130 motherless cases which have been studied in the department during this period, we shall attempt to point to certain trends, certain psychological factors, which seem to operate in these situations and which enable us to advance a few challenging conjectures.

Approximately 70 per cent of the families studied had housekeeping service at one time or another. Perhaps the study of the cases involving housekeeping service offers the most logical introduction to our discussion. This may be seen as a triangular relationship involving the family, the housekeeper, and the agency. Since the family is our primary concern, we shall utilize it as a point of departure. In attempting therapy in motherless families we must remain cognizant of the fact that treatment possibilities are definitely limited by factors inherent in the situation. Very often we are dealing with fathers who have always been somewhat inadequate individuals, carrying over patterns of earlier parental dependency, and expecting from their wives the same maternal guidance which had earlier been supplied by the mother. These clients regard the agency almost as a parent and are prone to project upon us most of the responsibility for initiating plans. Frequently, then, from the father's relationship toward the agency, we may determine whether his feelings toward his parents were friendly or hostile. Faced suddenly with the necessity for assuming much responsibility for the care of his children, while at the same time he is being denied normal sex outlets for his emotions, we find him an extremely disturbed individual.

Invariably the father idealizes his marital life, although a record of the family while the mother was still a part of the picture may indicate that there was gross maladjustment. Our job, in working with the father, is to let him experience a feeling of our

acceptance of him as he is. The function of the case worker in these cases would appear to be concerned with helping him to meet reality situations. At least, he can always find in the case worker a sympathetic listener, toward whom he can be either friendly or hostile, as he feels the need. As he sees the situation, there are many reasons for hostility. The loss of his wife constitutes a deep emotional deprivation. If he turns to his children, he may find that they have developed a deep affection for the homemaker who has rapidly won her way into their confidences. He is no longer so important to them. If he should become sufficiently courageous to verbalize his own need or interest in the homemaker, even to the point of suggesting marriage, he again meets frustration. The difference in social standards usually precludes any interest on the part of the housekeeper for the father. The father's own code of ethics may restrain him from seeking satisfaction outside of the home. And so there is constant conflict between his needs and his ideals, which results in a state of tenseness and anxiety. He resorts then to various methods of escape, perhaps the most common of which is alcoholism.

Other types of emotional factors are simultaneously operative on the children in these situations. In this discussion it seems desirable to consider as one group the homes which are receiving housekeeping service and those in which the oldest girl is taking over most of the mother's responsibility. In the latter, the attitude of the father and the relationship between him and his daughter is of paramount importance. If he is tolerant and kindly, she may make a good adjustment to her heavy responsibilities. In fact, she will probably derive too much satisfaction from her rôle to the exclusion of other more normal interests. We have known cases in which these girls have developed an almost fanatical need to emulate their mother in every respect. If the mother was a dominating person, the girl tends to repeat these patterns of behavior and takes a very authoritative attitude toward the younger siblings. She is closely identified with her father and tends strongly to resent any interest which he

may manifest in another woman. Her entire future relationships with men may be jeopardized. Housekeepers are usually unsuccessful in these exaggerated situations, as the girl resents any diminution of her authority or loss of prestige in the home.

There are other critical situations, too. Frequently the father, perhaps in his fear that the girl may leave the home, tends to be a rigid disciplinarian, limiting the girl's recreational opportunities and insisting upon strict conformance to his own standards of behavior. The girl may show her resentment by leaving the home at the earliest possible moment to escape this parental domination. She frequently enters upon a hasty, ill-advised marriage, foredoomed to failure at the very start. Even an unhappy marriage, however, might be a less destructive experience for her than a prolonged period of sexual experimentation.

We have attempted to meet the needs of some of these girls through the organization of a club designed especially for them. The leader of the group is a trained case worker. While recreation is the primary function of the group, there is also opportunity for discussion of mutual problems, such as home management and child psychology in situations where there is no housekeeper in the home. It is interesting to note that the boys in these families are more apt to be overtly delinquent and indulge in anti-social behavior, while the maladjustment of their sisters seems to manifest itself less externally.

What rôle does the homemaker play in the motherless family? Her importance cannot be overemphasized as she is often the key person in a difficult situation. She is summarily projected into the intimate life of a group of individuals with long-established patterns of thinking and feeling. It is a subtle relationship in which we can see both advantages and disadvantages. To begin with, she is able to face difficulties more objectively than the mother. She need not consider childish insubordination as a personal affront or a reflection upon her training. Instead she can project it on to the poor training which she imagines the child must have received from its mother. This factor operates conversely, as far as the child is concerned. He

may resent having the homemaker take the place of his mother and inform her that he does not have to obey her, an impostor in his home. The homemaker, of course, is selected partially on the basis of her skill in child training. Often we hear Mr. X's neighbor or relative reporting to us with genuine amazement the fact that the children are receiving better care than before the mother's removal from the home. Certainly there is sometimes more consistent discipline, as the father is expected to co-operate with the homemaker. And if the family situation was an unhappy one, the tense atmosphere accompanying strained marital relationships resulted in many conflicts for the child concerning his divided loyalty.

We have observed distinct differences in the child's behavior in homes wherein the mother has died as compared with those in which the mother has developed a psychosis. A mental illness is a vaguely understood thing, lurking ominously in the background of the child's consciousness. He must keep it a secret, to be carefully guarded from curious playmates. He cannot even share it with his father who seems gruff and ill at ease when he mentions it. He is all alone with his problem. Of the 130 cases which were studied, 18 per cent involved mental illness on the part of the mother. Seventy-seven children in these homes have been for varying periods of time in intimate contact with and under the direct supervision of pre-psychotic parents. These children will inevitably reflect the instability to which they have been exposed. They are fearful, repressed, ultra-sensitive youngsters who have been denied the security which is essential for the growth of a normal, well-adjusted individual. The father, too, shows a definite reaction to this insecurity. He sees before him only a dull and lonesome existence.

The introduction of an understanding maternal person is an intense relief to the child recently deprived of his mother, as well as to his father. The child finds in her someone who will patiently answer his questions and explain to him the many things he has to know; someone who will take his part when he is being unjustly treated. In *The Social Development of Young Children*

Susan Isaacs comments on the need for the child to have two adults in his environment. When there is but one adult, "this gives the severely inhibited child no opportunity to find relief from his inevitable hostility toward the grown-up by outward expression. Since he is utterly dependent for love and safety on the one person, he dare not show his aggressive wishes, and so they remain untempered by experience.

With the advent of a homemaker things gradually begin to shape themselves for the child, he feels some of his former security returning, and he finds himself again able to participate in normal childhood activities. The father, too, with one of his major concerns being satisfactorily cared for, is able to relax. There is a lessening of inner and outer tensions, and ultimately we may hope to help him reconstruct his own patterns of thinking and enable him to enjoy a satisfying life. He does not feel the need to rush precipitously into an injudicious marriage.

Clients are never used as homemakers, and yet frequently in the course of events the homemaker assumes almost a client relationship to the case worker who supervises the home in which she is employed. Fortunately, these periods are usually transitory. After we have given her the encouragement which she so richly deserves and helped her to a better understanding of the family's needs, she is willing to go ahead. Her growing affection for the family as well as her reluctance to admit that she lacks sufficient ingenuity to cope with a challenging situation stimulate her in continuing her work. Once a month she is given an opportunity to meet with the other homemakers. At these meetings common experiences are shared, common problems discussed. The meetings are concerned with child psychology, child health, and recreation, and are led by psychiatrically trained workers on the staff, as well as outsiders. While she is employed in the home, the homemaker is covered by employers' liability insurance. We believe that this definite relationship of the homemaker to the agency is an important factor in making the plan successful. Some of these homemakers stay all night,

while others come early in the morning and stay through the supper hour. In some instances, too, families are given only three days a week service. Naturally, the agency's conception of the homemaker's rôle is not always the client's. One father in whose home we had placed an excellent homemaker, who had worked out extremely satisfactorily, was urging us to remove her and employ someone whom he knew. It developed that he was considering marriage with this woman and felt that it would be helpful for him to have us pay her for a few months.

In conclusion, I should like to mention a few of the factors which we feel are significant in determining treatability in these situations and in gauging the degree of success or failure which we may anticipate. We do not say that we will not accept the Brown case because Mr. Brown drinks; there may be compensating factors in the situation which would indicate the desirability of keeping up the home, even though superficially there seem to be many obstacles. As a matter of fact, we have had many instances in which we were able to build up enough security in unstable individuals so that alcoholism was less frequently resorted to as an escape.

In the interest of the children, however, we must expect that the father will be co-operative along certain lines. Paramount in importance, of course, must be his own real desire to keep the home together because of his affection for the children. He is an extremely important person in the group. Upon him rests the ultimate responsibility as to the success or failure of our plan. It is to help him to be a better parent, to strengthen the bond between him and his children that the plan has been evolved. An adequate relief plan with provision of essential household equipment is also a prerequisite for success. We cannot expect a housekeeper to struggle with very inadequate equipment, even though the mother herself may have had to do so. If there is no indication of progress after a reasonable amount of time, the withdrawal of our service may be necessary.

It can readily be seen that case workers in these situations are

unable to carry as large a case load because of the intensive nature of the work and the necessity of working with each member of the family. Obviously, too, the cost of carrying these cases would be greater. We concede that the provision of housekeeping service is not the panacea for every motherless family. It is only one method of solving a social problem. But it does make possible the preservation of family life which is generally conceded to be a very essential factor in developing the personality of the individual and aiding his adjustment to society.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH OF THE WORKER THROUGH SUPERVISION

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THE practice of case work cannot be learned by intellectual processes alone. Some of the most conspicuous of our failures in training each year are persons who have acquired a knowledge of human mechanisms but who because of a faulty emotional setup are either unable to relate this knowledge to an understanding of people in trouble or—worse still—because of their own needs use their knowledge sadistically and to the harm of the client.

For instance, a worker can sometimes recite a dozen reasons why a family might be demanding in its attitude toward relief and yet might not sense the development of that attitude in a family she herself visited week after week until it burst full-blown upon her. Furthermore, in spite of her intellectual understanding of why this occurred she might be unable to get across to the family her sense of appreciating the pressures under which they were laboring. There is something lacking in this worker's equipment that is not a matter of knowledge in even its broadest sense but that is essential to her functioning as a case worker.

In even greater degree this is true of a person who unconsciously uses this knowledge actually to harm the client. A worker may through intelligent and trained observation become aware of the fact that a man has ceased to love his wife—a fact that is perhaps hidden from the consciousness both of the man and of his wife. The worker with a desire to hurt may proceed to use this

knowledge by telling the wife of her conclusions on the theory that she is thus helping the wife to face reality when the actual situation is that the worker is carrying out her own need to hurt by so doing. Our only safeguard then is to develop the emotions as well as the intellect so that a helpful use can be made of knowledge when it is acquired.

That is not to say that knowledge is not needed in case work. The understanding of individuals in all their complexities—economic, social, physical, and emotional—is based on an ever increasing body of facts and calls for the highest order of intellectual equipment. But above and beyond this we must also demand a high order of emotional development.

The question then arises: In what specific areas is the progress of the student or the skill of the worker dependent upon emotional rather than upon intellectual processes? Principally these are two: the area of understanding the feelings, drives, wishes, and sufferings of the client; and the area of the case worker's feelings and attitudes toward the person coming to her for help.

Let us consider the first of these. We talk glibly of the need to understand the client. What do we mean by this? Cannot one understand by a study of the facts about a person? To a degree these are very helpful. Certainly one wants to know how a client who is coming for help has met life in the past. Even in the simplest situation—the application for relief because of unemployment—it is necessary to know what kind of work the applicant has done and how successfully he has done it. The student or worker must learn what things it is important to know, must be able to help the client to talk freely of his real situation, and must have the skill to evaluate the facts she collects. So much may be largely knowledge, but there is a further more subtle skill that the case worker must possess really to understand what the client is trying to say. People do not wear their hearts on their sleeves. A mother, asking for the placement of a child, may say she wants to place her child because she cannot support it or because the doctor has advised a complete rest free of responsibility for herself, but experience

has taught us that this is often only a cover for the real reason. This may be a fundamental dislike of the child, or an obsession of the mother that she is unfit to care for her child and must give it up to others—or any number of other things. To realize that this is possible is again knowledge but to be able to sense it in an applicant when it is perhaps unknown even to the mother herself requires a different quality of mind. Many workers are unsuccessful in case-work practice because they are unable to be sensitive to such important subtleties.

On what does this sensitivity depend? It seems primarily to be a matter of freedom to feel with or into the other person—not to think with, though that is important too, but to feel into the other person. The word “empathy” has been used to describe this process. It is not sympathy, “feeling with,” but empathy, “feeling into.” Empathy has been described as looking at a tall vase and feeling tall, looking at a squat vase and feeling squat. You have had such experiences at an art museum. Usually we wander through, glancing here and there, but occasionally we sit down for a half hour and look at one thing—a painting, a statue—until we feel it in our very bones. Something has happened between us and that painting or figure. There is a kind of understanding, of feeling into the purpose and mind of the artist, that no other kind of observation can give. But not everyone can observe in this way. There must be a letting-go of the self, an absorption in the other person, a willingness to let the purpose of something outside bear down upon and become known to us. Such understanding requires a kind of fearlessness and emotional maturity that must be developed in the worker who hopes to understand human beings. It is important to know whether a mother applying for the placement of a child is seeking this because she is forced by financial circumstances or because she does not love the child or because she suffers from an overwhelming sense of inferiority and inability to care for the child.

The facts will tell us a good deal, but the direct experience of what this other person is like, gained by a worker who is free to

let her own unconscious self run along the channels of the client's thoughts and get her feelings in her bones, as it were, has an essential addition to make to the facts. Workers enter social work with different degrees of this ability, but training and experience should cultivate it.

The second area in which the worker's skill is dependent on emotional growth is that of her feeling toward the client. Probably no group of case workers needs to be told that feeling always exists between any two people who meet each other. Even in such a simple situation as giving your fare to the street-car conductor you do have feelings—some conductors you like, others you dislike, some arouse pleasant associations, others unpleasant. The same with our feelings toward individuals seeking our help.

Much has been said in the past of the need for objectivity, of tolerance, and of acceptance. Perhaps we can best describe what we mean by "accepting" a client by defining what we do not mean. This term is confused by some with non-shockableness. You hear the young student saying, "Nothing can shock me now—nothing bothers me—I can take anything." It is this concept that has perhaps given us our unenviable reputation of being hardened, disillusioned, and emotionless individuals. Somewhat better than non-shockableness is tolerance. There is something broad and human about tolerance in its best sense, but in common usage it so often brings to mind a fence with you on one side and the other person whom you tolerate on the other. There is something rather patronizing about this kindly putting up with what the other person wants to do or be.

On the other hand, acceptance is not to be confused with nihilism—with the idea that nothing is either better or worse than anything else, that there is no truth, there is no good or bad. It is not a question of what kind of personal standards the worker has but rather of what her attitude is to the client. Can the worker accept the client as he is, or not? Can she let him behave as he needs to, even when his behavior is very different from what her own would be under similar circumstances, not

only without feeling condemnation but without losing for him as a person a feeling of warmth? If her reaction is one of dislike of the client as he is, she has little chance of having him use her as a means of being any different. This is a question about which much could be written.

A worker may by function be responsible for controlling the behavior of another person, but her real helpfulness to the other person will be dependent upon the degree of freedom from personal need with which she operates within her function. Moreover, while there is some protective work in all case-work agencies, there are even in those particularly designed for this work—as the court—large areas in which the worker is stepping beyond her function in wishing or attempting to control the life of the client. Here it is of fundamental importance to be willing to let the client be what he needs to be and still to like him.

If, for instance, a worker is to help a man who has cheated the agency, she must first be able to feel positively toward him as he is. She must not only be free of any feeling of condemnation but ready and anxious to understand the need that caused him to "chisel." Likewise, when she talks with the neurotically ill mother she must be able to bear the client's need to meet a difficult life in this way, and she must have a general feeling of liking despite the oft-repeated complaints if she hopes to have the ill person turn to her for help.

In order to thus accept the client as he is, it is necessary to remove one's own needs from the relationship, and it is here that the emotional growth takes place. The person who is just beginning her work as a case worker usually approaches the client with any number of her own needs. One person may need to win the liking and even affection of all her clients, carrying over from the rest of her life a pattern of needing reassurance in the expressions of appreciation, gratitude, and liking from other people. Another may need to dominate. All will come with prejudices, likes, and dislikes of one kind or another. All these needs of the worker must fade out of the picture, be divorced from her case-work practice if she is to become a person of a wide

range of acceptance of the client as he is. The process of bringing the student through this emotional development is one of the most important in supervision.

We have spoken of the necessity for growth in the direction of freedom to understand the client and in the direction of learning to accept the other person. It is impossible for change of this sort to take place without modifying to a certain extent the general life adjustment of the worker. Understanding of others is closely related to understanding one's self, and acceptance of others is bound up in acceptance of the self.

As the student comes to a realization of her need to be liked or of her need to dominate, this new consciousness not only tends to modify her need in the case-work situation but may reach far into her personal life. The same thing is certainly true of feelings that the case worker carries over to her clients from other relationships. The man who suddenly realizes that his dislike of certain younger men clients is related to a dislike of a younger brother may be catapulted into a nest of emotions of which he was entirely unaware. Whatever change subsequently takes place in his feelings will be as much a part of the fabric of his whole emotional life as of his relationship to clients.

Whether we will it or no, the student or worker who is to fit himself adequately for the job of helping other people must himself grow emotionally. He must become more understanding of the full meaning of events and emotions in other people's lives, and he must be able to accept those feelings as he finds them. Inevitably, as he sees others more clearly he is revealed to himself, and as he grows in his ability to allow others to live as they need to, independent of his needs, he becomes aware of his own drives and wishes and fears and tends to find them modifying themselves. If this is inevitable, it is highly important that the supervisor be aware of her part in the worker's emotional development. What can she do to help?

The two principal factors in a worker's growth seem to me to be observation and the relationship to the supervisor. I mean observation in a very broad sense—as the things one sees, hears,

and learns about clients and one's self either through class or field experience. There are so many things about people that the beginning worker just doesn't know. To take a very simple and yet fundamental example, a great many beginners have no knowledge of the existence of bivalence of feeling. The idea that one ordinarily has both love and hate for the same person is an entirely new concept. To have these contradictory feelings pointed out in case-work class or practice may open the eyes of a worker to a whole new field of understanding—a new attitude toward the client and a growth within the self. Which comes first it is almost impossible to tell. The worker who is led to recognize the feeling of antagonism of an adolescent for his mother may have stirred up within herself memories of similar feelings in her own past. As the worker is gradually able to face her own feelings, she becomes able to see the client as he is, and as she loses fear about her own attitudes, she becomes less fearful and critical of them as they appear in another person.

How are we as supervisors to bring to the worker the greatest range of observations of this sort? How are we to help them to see things that lie beneath the surface, how bring them conviction?

The sources of this insight need hardly be discussed. The student in school courses is introduced to a range of new observations about people, and in field work has direct knowledge of the personalities of the clients for whose service she is directly responsible. This experience is deepened by the leadership taken by the supervisor. The new worker who is not attending a school of social work must be given substitutes for these experiences. Much can be learned from carefully selected reading assignments covering both technical subjects and general literature, especially writings of authors of keen psychological insight. Case discussions can also be used to advantage.

In either case there are certain general principles of supervision which past experience has shown useful. The first of these is to go slowly. A worker must not be introduced too quickly and too violently to concepts which she not only has not previ-

ously met but to which she may have unconscious resistances. We must proceed from the known gradually to the unknown.

Eventually the student must come to understand and accept behavior which it is not easy to identify, must be willing to believe that there is an explanation even when the facts do not seem to give one, must be able to treat with respect reactions that she herself might not have under similar circumstances. It is only by a gradual introduction to feelings different from her own that a student's capacity for understanding can grow. To go too fast encourages one of two things. Either the worker will reject new ideas entirely or in order to please the supervisor she will take on the point of view presented superficially and intellectually with the conscious part of her mind accepting but the unconscious carrying strong resistances.

Related to this question of unconscious resistances is the importance of encouraging a worker to express her real feelings about clients and situations. In our zeal to hasten a worker's progress we sometimes too early impress on her the importance of liking the client and of allowing him to lead his life as he needs to. The result all too often is that the worker merely hides from the supervisor, and sometimes even from herself, her real reaction. This actually builds up a wall between the worker and the client. It results in a shutting-off of feelings, a false calmness that may seem like hardness. A similar wall arises between worker and supervisor, making impossible a free exchange of thought. True acceptance comes not from a repression of feeling but from an actual widening of experience, widening of the range of identifications that removes the worker's need and desire to condemn. It is sometimes wise and necessary even to allow the worker to carry out plans that the supervisor knows will be ineffectual in order that she may become convinced of the futility of her approach by actually seeing it fail.

As for the application the worker may make of her new understanding of people to herself, this may come about in a variety of ways. The worker who herself suffers from feelings of inferiority will avidly grasp explanations of this difficulty in a client

and apply to herself what she thus learns. Inevitably the supervisor uses illustrations from the worker's own life experiences to explain the behavior of clients. A common instance is headaches. What supervisor has not, in attempting to throw light on neurotic symptoms, asked the student if she has never suddenly developed a headache before an anticipated unpleasant experience and pointed out that this is a mild neurotic symptom? This is a useful teaching device, but it inevitably arouses in the student awareness of her own emotional make-up.

In the course of training the student or worker often may take an entire conference period to discuss herself and problems of her own adjustment. Is this something that the supervisor needs to avoid? I think not. As has been earlier stated, it is inevitable in training for case work that changes take place within the emotional life of the worker. Without such changes she cannot grow in her understanding and acceptance of the client. Much of this the worker accomplishes alone, but occasionally she needs and should be given the help of the supervisor. This is not to say, however, that the supervisory relationship should turn into a treatment relationship. There are distinctions between the two that an illustration may help to clarify.

Suppose that a man worker in conference after discussing a client who is unable to allow himself to love because of a fear of dependence applies this to himself. He may tell you that he never before realized that his failure to make strong and lasting friendships was based on a fear of becoming dependent on another person who would then be in a position to cause him pain by a withdrawal of affection. He may tell you of several instances in which he can see this quality in himself. The conference may end at this point, and for weeks you may hear nothing further of this problem though you may observe an increasing ease in the worker's relationship to his clients.

In treatment, on the other hand, had a client who was coming for help on an emotional problem produced the same information, the case worker in all probability would have encouraged

further discussion of his feelings. The supervisor is glad to have the worker discuss personal problems when she brings them up but tends for the most part to leave the initiative entirely with the other person. Even where the supervisor feels that it is necessary to bring to the worker awareness of some attitude that is seriously hindering her work, it is customary merely to bring the attitude to consciousness unless the worker herself carries the discussion further.

There is wisdom to this course. It is almost impossible to mix the rôles of supervisor and therapist. The supervisor is necessarily, as an educator, in a somewhat judgmental relationship to the student because she needs to evaluate the student's work, and in the final analysis has a great deal to say about whether or not the student is to continue. This function of supervision does not mix with treatment where, above all else, it is necessary for the person under treatment to feel that the therapist is entirely non-judgmental in her attitude. It would be very difficult for a student to feel free to discuss with her supervisor things which would either actually or in her mind seriously affect the supervisor's opinion of her work.

Second, there would certainly be mutual interreactions that would make both relationships less valuable. The feelings that the student has about comments made during supervisory hours would undoubtedly affect the progress of the treatment hours, and feelings aroused during the latter would almost certainly affect the student's work.

We have discussed at some length the emotional development that takes place in the worker because of observations that she may make about other people and about herself. What of her relationship to her supervisor? Here also is a channel for growth. The worker does not learn by observation and insight alone but also through something that she gains directly from the supervisor.

In the first place, there is apt to be a relationship of considerable emotional charge between worker and supervisor. This is due, in part, to the nature of the material that needs to be dis-

cussed between them—highly weighted with emotion as it is, whether related directly to the worker or to the client. This is increased by the fact that the supervisor of the beginning worker as a teacher is in a quasi-parental position. This draws to her feelings similar to those the student may have for her parents, especially where these are somewhat in conflict. The worker who has strong feelings about a dominating father will react strongly to the authoritative position of the supervisor. The student whose hunger for her mother's affection has been unsatisfied will seek also the approbation and even affection of the supervisor. It is only as the supervisor keeps from falling into the rôle of dominating or loving parent that the student loses fear and comes to awareness of the existence and source of her feelings.

The worker who is to help other people, to allow other people to work out through her their fears of domination and dependence or independence, their need for love, can be useful only to the degree to which she herself has lost her fear of such situations. A start in resolving these conflicts can be made through her relation to supervision.

For instance, a worker who had an unusually good understanding of people and an attitude that would seem to inspire confidence in a person coming for help seemed always to work on a superficial level. Clients would talk freely perhaps once and then never reopen the subject. The supervisor was at a loss to explain the difficulty except that she had observed that the worker was more than usually reserved in the use she made of conferences. One day the worker started to talk about herself. After she had talked on for an hour, she said that she had never spoken to anyone like this before. Her experiences in life had led her to feel that it was better to keep one's troubles to one's self. The supervisor asked if this might have affected her attitude toward people who came to her for help. After some thought the worker said this might well be true, that she always hesitated to encourage clients to talk to her because she felt that that they would be sorry for having let down the barriers and

admitted another person to their inner thoughts. As you may well imagine, after this experience the worker suddenly found clients at much greater ease with her and able to ask her help. The barrier had not been in the client but in the worker and was resolved only through the relationship to the supervisor.

Furthermore, the worker should find in the supervisor, just as the client should later find in the worker, a new kind of acceptance. The worker is able to face with equanimity in herself the things she observes in others only as she feels an understanding attitude on the part of the supervisor.

When, for instance, the student suddenly becomes aware of antagonism toward a client or toward a member of her own family, she is temporarily very dependent on the continued approval of the supervisor to carry her over a painful period of self-awareness. Any feeling that the supervisor is condemnatory will throw her back into repression of her own feelings and condemnation of similar emotions in persons coming to her for help. There is no element in supervision that is more important than this—the acceptance of the worker by the person responsible for her training and growth.

Before concluding this paper, I should like to stress once more a point that I hope has been implicit throughout. This is that the student or worker must be allowed to go at her own pace. There used to be much fear of “case-working” the worker. That fear is justified if the supervisor has not herself thought through the limitations of her rôle, or if in her zeal for the student’s growth she attempts to force her into greater understanding or acceptance of personal growth. I have tried to show that the learning of case work is a process which in its very nature throws the worker back upon herself and stirs her to emotional growth. The supervisor must stand by ready to help but certainly not goad on. As in case work so in supervision, the person who is to be helped must seek it and the person who is to help must beyond all else be gentle and attune herself to the needs of the other person.

FACTORS IN TREATMENT

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IN GENERAL three sets of factors interplay in case-work treatment. The function of the agency, the professional qualifications of the worker, and those factors inherent in the client's total situation together determine the treatment possibilities in any given case. So close is the interreaction of these elements that it is difficult to isolate one set of factors for separate consideration.

Many cases have been closed with the notation, "Client untreatable," when he may have been treatable within the limitations of his purpose, within the scope of the agency's function, and within the professional grasp of a well-oriented social worker. The social worker's orientation then can be regarded as the core of the treatment situation. Her ability to understand the client and to accept his limitations, her understanding of self together with the degree of her self-acceptance, as well as her acceptance of the agency's responsibility to the community as implied in its functional limitations will determine the treatment possibilities in any given case. Valid statements regarding treatment potentialities emerge only in those instances wherein the social worker has brought into play an integration of these factors.

Every simple case-work procedure may have fundamental or superficial treatment value depending upon its meaning to the individual. Every case-work contact from the initial interview to the termination of treatment likewise has treatment implications which may have deep or casual values, depending again

upon its meaning for the individual. He may gain increased self-understanding and self-acceptance with a resultant increased capacity for solving his difficulties through the treatment interview in which he is helped to secure release of feeling and in which he experiences acceptance of that feeling. In the average case-work situation this may not occur in clearly defined treatment sessions divorced from usual case-work activity. In all case-work contacts there is opportunity for this process to occur. Case workers may render specific services or give suggestions about handling of critical problems at any point in the treatment contact, but in so doing it is their primary concern to release the feeling necessary to enable the client to utilize these services and suggestions in a growth direction. It is essential, also, that they direct the emotional interplay between worker and client so that the relationship results in development of the client—which implies that they direct it so that he experiences acceptance and understanding. Specific services may create tensions or they may facilitate the release of feeling, but inevitably they produce a response which has to be met by the case worker in a progressive treatment process. One sees, then, that we do not function categorically. There is no such division of labor as implied in simple routines on the one hand, and complicated treatment sessions on the other. Treatment in any case implies a flexible meeting of the needs of the individual. This involves diagnostic skill unhampered by unprofessional bias, and a capacity for relationship which is not obstructed by personal need for self-gratification in the treatment process. The nature of treatment is not predetermined by the social worker, but is determined by the response of the client.

We are confronted in every case with the need for one or more exploratory interviews. In these interviews the client presents the nature of his problem as he sees it and feels it. He is given freedom to elaborate what he thinks and feels about his situation. He is led to express his purpose in bringing his problem to us, as well as to tell us what he himself wants to do about it.

During these interviews the worker not only is observing and evaluating but also is participating in his exploration of his problem. The primary purpose of these interviews is that the individual may be given an opportunity to reveal himself. First, that we may understand him and thus be enabled to assist him. Second, that in revealing himself he may experience increased self-understanding with a resultant reorientation in his life situation, providing, of course, that he is able to use this opportunity in that direction. Sometimes reorientation at this point may imply a clarified decision as to whether or not he wishes help and wants to continue with treatment. In these interviews as throughout continuing treatment contacts there should be on the part of the worker a capacity for sensing what the client wants. This implies an understanding of the unconscious meaning of his words, and a realization that his feelings about his experiences are as important as the facts of his experience. She should be able to allow a free development of the relationship with the client and be sensitive to the use that he is making of it.

While few criteria have been established for determining the treatment possibilities in a case, certain indicators have emerged which guide the worker as to general direction, emphasis, duration of treatment, and the need for termination. Some of those which have been rather definitely formulated are as follows.

Recognition of the importance of the client's purpose, in determining the nature of treatment and whether or not he can be served by a particular agency or individual, is so general that it will not be elaborated at any length even though it has many implications. Consideration for what the client seeks is a first principle among case workers today. This does not mean that every treatment situation is rigidly limited to a specific objective which he brings and which may be relatively trifling as compared with other problems evidenced in his total situation. It does mean, though, that the case worker meets the need which he brings with understanding. She grants him the reality of his feeling about his problem so that in process of revealing

his needs he may experience help, which may lead him to seek further assistance in other areas. A client applies for relief. In handling the relief situation, either in granting relief or in withholding it, the worker's acceptance and understanding of the client's feelings about this problem may induce him to seek help about other troublesome matters. If the worker has perceived his wants, if she has followed his feelings and allowed free development of the relationship, one would expect a developing changing purpose in the client in accordance with his further needs. If this development does not occur under these circumstances, we can well question whether or not he wants further help. One can question, also, his capacity for relationship. If he does not want help, it would be futile to impose it. If he has diminished capacity for relationship, then he will be unable to respond except within the limits of this capacity. This does not mean that he would not be served in regard to external needs if these came within the function of the agency, but it does mean that the case-work service would proceed in accordance with his wants, at any given time. Change in external circumstances might gradually effect some modification in his feelings and attitudes so that at some later time he might become accessible for further treatment, at which time his needs could be met.

In any situation the use which the individual makes of his problem—that is, the emotional value which this behavior has for him—will determine what he can do about modifying his behavior, or what the social worker can do in helping him. If his problem is irritating, if he suffers discomfort, then he may respond to the available help unless the irritation and discomfort are meeting a deep need for self-punishment to the extent that he could be said to be enjoying his misery. If his behavior is meeting some basic need to his satisfaction, and there are no alternative satisfactions available toward which the social worker can direct him, then she may be unable to help him. In this connection it is essential that the social worker understand the unconscious motivation in order to know the treatment possibilities. It will not be her task to treat the unconscious problem,

but she will need to use the meaning of his behavior in terms of the unconscious factors in order to deal with the conscious manifestations which are of concern to the client.

The duration of the symptomatic behavior may also signify treatment possibilities. Since persistent behavior is for the most part satisfying, or it would not persist, long-standing symptoms imply prolonged satisfaction in a certain mode of behavior. Again, one confronts the factor of satisfaction or dissatisfaction as a determinant in what the individual may or may not be able to do about his problem, with this additional complication. Changing circumstances in the life of an individual gradually may have rendered certain long-standing behavior less satisfying, or even irritating. But because of the crystallization of the patterns, the rigidity of related attitudes, and the immobility of the response of others who continue to contribute to his reaction, he may be unable to change without very fundamental help. In this instance the techniques of the psychiatrist might be more effective, because the client would need a deep regenerative experience which would involve direct treatment of unconscious problems.

Closely related to this factor of duration of the symptomatic behavior is the extent of the area of life-experience involved in the individual's behavior. A person may be having difficulty in a given life-relationship, with some recognition of his part in the problem and some desire for help in working out the relationship. Such a person might readily utilize social case treatment which would enable him to release his feeling and gain further insight about his difficulty through his having been afforded a relationship in which his feelings are accepted and understood. In this experience he might gain self-understanding and an increased capacity for relationship which would help him in working through his present problem. Another individual, also presenting difficulties in a given life-relationship, might be found to be having difficulties in all of his relationships. Furthermore, one might find that the present extensive problem was not of recent origin—that disturbed vital life-relationships in the early

life and throughout the intervening years preceded the present more extensive involvement. The treatment implications here would be quite different—in fact, one questions whether social case treatment would be indicated—and again the need for psychiatric treatment arises.

Another example in relation to the extent of involvement is given because this is a significant point and often an ascertainable one which can guide the social worker in determining the direction of treatment. A client presents an evasive attitude toward certain realities in his present life-situation. It would be important for the social worker to ascertain the following: whether this attitude was confined to a certain area of his life, or whether it was justified by the nature of the reality situation—that is, has the client withdrawn under the pressure of overwhelming circumstances or has he consistently reacted to vital life-experiences with evasion. In the former instance the individual might be helped to face reality issues through an easing of environmental irritants, if this were possible, as well as through the case-work interviews if he has not grown too protective to participate in this situation. In the latter case, however, one might have a person who would be unable to use any help directed toward enabling him to meet reality.

Frequently in such an instance one meets an interplay of factors: first, there is the long duration of the difficulty; second, one suspects deep satisfaction in the dependency which is implied in escaping responsibility; third, one may encounter meager capacity for relationships as predetermined by long-standing withdrawal; fourth, one questions the individual's desire for help since escape measures may have brought a comfortable nirvana from which he is loathe to emerge, when in contrast the realities of life would seem harsh. Here we would have a dubious case for either psychiatric or social case treatment directed toward a reintegration of the personality or toward changed attitudes. In this instance, the person probably would utilize any treatment in furthering his dependency. In rendering essential case services, then, one would recognize and accept

the fundamental dependency factor and not expect a growth response. Social case workers are sometimes criticized for withholding services from such individuals, out of their well-intentioned desire for active participation in the growth interests of these persons. It is essential that we recognize basic limitations and do not impose our standards of how a client ought to react if he is to grow when he is incapacitated for growth.

This leads to another point in our diagnostic thinking—the question of related attitudes. A client may present problems in a certain area which have induced attitudes which contribute to reinforce, or further, the crystallization of the original problem. For example, an individual may have enjoyed dependency to such an extent that he has clung to infantile satisfactions. In meeting the reality issues of life, however, he felt inadequate, thereby developing anxieties and fears. In spite of enjoyment of dependency, some hostility may have been induced toward those who had infantilized him, with perhaps resultant feelings of guilt for his hatred of those to whom he felt deeply obligated. The guilt, in turn, may have engendered further anxiety. Thus one sees a ramification of feelings and attitudes arising out of the original dependency problem. One may find that the related attitudes are quite fixed. The client cannot relinquish them, for as long as he is fearful he is justified in withdrawing, while his hostility persists also because it motivates a continuance of dependency—perhaps with the purpose of punishing others. One must consider then the purpose which these related attitudes serve the individual. If they enable him to protect himself, through justifying basic need, then they may not be readily modified. When one finds a rigidity induced by the purposeful interplay of feelings and attitudes, one has a situation which is not adapted to social case treatment measures. The release of emotional tension or the redirection of the behavior arising out of unconscious drives probably will not be effective. Again, one has a case in which direct treatment of unconscious problems is indicated, which in turn implies referral to a psychiatrist for basic treatment, if available and if the individual is receptive to

this procedure. The social case worker's rôle in such an instance might be that of easing the environmental situation, in so far as it is possible to do so.

Another factor significant to social case workers is the environment. The client's subjective feelings imply careful consideration of the objective reality of his environment. How mobile is his environment? Frequently we are unable to help him realize growth and thus manifest changed attitudes because we cannot effect environmental change for him, or assist him in effecting that change. Any attempt to evaluate the treatment possibilities in a case, therefore, must take into account the potentials for change within this area. We have met many overwhelming obstacles herein during recent years. Frustrated in this regard, social case workers perhaps have in some instances attempted more exhaustive direct therapy of the individual than was indicated in view of the total situation. The futility of such efforts has been demonstrated and should lead social case workers to an acceptance of their limitations. Facing reality on this score might direct energy otherwise wastefully consumed toward a more purposeful interest in social action.

The nature of the relationship which it is possible to establish with a client may determine the treatment possibilities in a case. Understanding the manifestations of relationship is, therefore, essential in our diagnostic thinking. So much emphasis has been placed upon this factor that we are prone to be anxious about it. We become self-conscious, tense, less free in being ourselves as we strive for relationship, and in so doing we obstruct its development. A person who is seeking help may withdraw or become antagonistic in response to the emotional pressure of the striving social worker. He needs to have his emotional need met and is not able to meet the demand of the worker. In such an instance there may occur a reversal of rôles in which the client is forced into the position of meeting the worker's demands, rather than the worker being free to meet his need. Confusion in relationship inevitably results under these circumstances. Perhaps we

should be more at ease if we understand that this element develops naturally out of the following conditions:

The individual's need will determine whether or not he will want a relationship with us. Unless he wants something he probably will not participate. Or if his needs are excessive, he may be frustrated in any attempted relationship because we cannot meet the depth of his need. In such instances one may find him resorting to many material or service demands, by utilizing the interviews for an endless, repetitive dramatization of himself on an attention-getting basis, or by being hostile and negativistic. His reaction in many cases might represent an attempt to get something from the worker to compensate himself for what he is unable to realize in terms of his basic need, or it might be an attempt to retaliate for the frustration which he has experienced.

The case worker's ability to follow the individual's feeling, and her capacity for acknowledging the reality of his feelings and directing treatment with consideration for them without imposing her values, her judgments, or her need to win a response, are other vital factors in the development of relationship. In short, the worker's capacity for relationship in contrast to an inclination to identify subjectively may determine the nature of the client's response.

The client's capacity for relationship is another essential element. Some individuals have been so deprived throughout life in the vital relationships which make for growth, that they seem not to have developed any inclination to relate themselves to others or any ability to do so. Other individuals have experienced so much frustration, through having been deeply hurt in their vital life-relationships, that they have become fearful about relationships to the extent that they withdraw from any closeness to people. They will not be hurt again. In either instance one may note a marked protective reaction, a deep-lying kind of narcissism as frequently evidenced in self-love and also in self-aggrandizing trends. In using the case-work situation to his own ends a person in this condition is prone to be demand-

ing, hostile, suspicious, and casual, and though sometimes superficially responsive, he is not basically so. He may be prone to demand from the worker what he wants when he wants it in terms of material things or specific services, and any denial will spell rejection and re-create his lifelong frustration in such a way as to intensify his need. Sometimes these persons are quite obviously withdrawn and show their incapacity for relationship through their apathy, and through inability to participate conversationally in the interview. Often, however, they may talk glibly and offer a pretensive response which is misleading. Whenever there is this diminished capacity for relationship induced by deprivation and frustration, the individual is prone to be very sensitive to emotional pressure from the worker. The worker who strives for relationship may become anxious, and therefore, more striving with these individuals as she experiences frustration in their response to her overtures. They, in turn, experience increased anxiety because of their inability in meeting the worker's emotional demands, and one may note increased withdrawal, more marked hostilities and suspicions, and a greater need to protect themselves against invasion. One may see this meager capacity for relationship evolving also through the individual's having experienced extreme indulgence and infantilization in previous life-relationships, so that he is unable to relate himself now in any situation which will not sustain his infantile omnipotence. Whatever the causes of this condition, and they may be manifold, it is essential that the case worker develop understanding of this factor, for it will determine in large measure what she can help the individual to do about his problem, and certainly her understanding of this basic element would influence the treatment emphasis.

In attempting to gauge the individual's capacity for relationship through his response in the present treatment situation, we must always take into account those other conditions in which relationship develops—that is, whether or not there is urgent need for help and whether or not the worker has been able to follow his feeling without obstructing him through the injection

of her own need. A safeguard here lies in understanding the life-experience of the individual. One should check his response in the present situation with his previous relationship experiences in order to determine to what extent these protective response patterns have evolved gradually out of his total life-experience.

It is beyond the limits of this paper to discuss inclusively or at any length the responses evidenced in the present situation which may guide the case worker in determining whether or not a person is able to utilize treatment in a growth direction. There is a tendency to confuse a so-called "good" contact with a vital sort of treatment relationship. A person may use the sessions with the worker for certain immediate satisfactions which have no basic treatment implications. We therefore note certain dominant tendencies, any one of which suggests that the individual might be unable to respond to treatment directed toward fundamental change in attitudes:

First, an exaggerated striving for the worker's attention with a tendency to take up her time in aimless conversation, in which he may show marked need for approval and sympathy. If the worker has been free to relate herself and has not withheld herself in such a way as to frustrate him, one questions his absorption merely in getting a response from the worker, rather than in working out his difficulties.

Second, revealing a lack of focus to any particular area, as he recounts his difficulties, as evidenced in continual transition from problem to problem or repeated introduction of new problems, without facing those previously enumerated. If so, we may expect that he is blocked in bringing through the problems that matter; that there is a tendency to evade facing any problem; that he needs the worker's anxiety and concern; that he revels in problem situations because of certain satisfactions in them.

Third, a persistent tendency to be engrossed in his own aches and pains, in his own dramatic life-experiences, in his own interesting personality reactions, and the like, to such an extent that he could be said to be dramatizing his life-situation. When this

occurs, one suspects that he cannot reveal himself through being himself with the worker, because of a basic inability to face reality.

Fourth, a glibness in which he recounts intimate details with an apparent lack of feeling, suggesting that he has no conflict about what he tells or no feelings of obligation to others. In such an instance one would question his capacity for relationship. This casual response suggests an emotional shallowness, and one would expect the treatment relationship to have negligible values for him.

There are certain positive reactions, also, which orient the worker as to the meaning of the relationship for an individual which it is not possible to discuss inclusively, some of which briefly are as follows:

First: The person should become increasingly free in bringing through problems about which he has had conflict and formerly withheld because of his deep feeling about them. In this process he shows the need of removing any barriers between himself and the worker, because of his desire for the worker's acceptance of his whole self, which in the last analysis indicates his own urge to face himself and his reality.

Second: There should be a growing tendency to focalize—to talk to the point. There should be lessened tensions as evidenced in change in mode of speech, mannerisms, and all the outward physical signs of anxiety. In this connection, as time goes on there should be lessened need to talk, and diminished need for contacts with the worker; one might see him gradually terminating treatment through seeking the worker less often.

Third: One should see the individual gradually assuming more and more initiative in working out his external difficulties. If this does not occur—if he does not become more free in handling his own life-situation, one can question the values of treatment for him. Prolonged contacts through which he gains no increased capacity to function on his own may well cause concern, for frequently such contacts further dependency or intensify his feelings about the difficulties which he discusses.

In considering significant treatment factors one might reach the following tentative conclusions:

1. The social case worker is the core of the treatment situation. Her orientation as to agency function, the degree of her self-understanding, and her grasp of the client's total situation as well as her knowledge of case-work method will determine in large measure the nature and direction of treatment.

2. The efficacy of treatment will be determined by its values for the client—values which frequently are unpredictable and will have deep or casual implications for him in terms of his needs, inclinations, and capacities. The client's response is not inherent in the mode or type of treatment utilized.

3. We have been obstructed in developing more exact criteria as to the treatment possibilities in any given case because the factors inherent in the client's situation have been obscured by the qualifications of the worker and the agency's function. While it will always be difficult to isolate the client and his situation for separate consideration as to treatment potentialities, still this may become more possible as social case workers gain a more adequate professional orientation.

4. In spite of the limiting factors certain criteria have emerged to guide us in our work, a few of which have been tentatively formulated in this paper. Social case work as a profession affords us the challenging task of widening this area of knowledge in so far as we also are able to accept the challenge of knowing ourselves, of perceiving agency function, and of realizing responsibility to the community.

BASIS FOR ESTIMATING BUDGETS

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THE social worker who comes face to face with actual suffering and disintegration in families struggling to keep body and soul together on insufficient money knows better than anyone else how essential it is to provide adequate relief on a planned basis.

Granting, however, that we all accept the term "adequate," we may be very far apart in the amount we would give to Mr. and Mrs. Jones. What do we mean by adequate? It may seem easy to reach a decision when thinking of a pitifully small amount on the one hand and an obviously overliberal one on the other, for, as the difference between these two grows less and less, it finally reaches a point which may seem too small for further consideration. Yet, at this point, millions of dollars are involved in the relief budget of a large city; billions when speaking in terms of federal relief.

For example, if only one cent per day more than is essential is given to each person on relief, each person would receive only \$3.65 per year more than more careful planning would provide. The amount saved may not seem worth the time it would take for more careful planning. But if each family averages four individuals, the agency, city, or federal budget will be increased by approximately \$150,000 for each 10,000 families; \$15,000,000 for each 1,000,000 families.

It is obvious, therefore, that those responsible for setting budget standards must keep one eye on the tax-payer or contributor and the other on the health and self-respect of the family. It is no easy matter to arrive at a decision that is just to everyone

but a carefully worked-out schedule which may be used as a guide in estimating family needs is of utmost value. It makes for justice because the case worker has an intelligent basis for talking with Mrs. Jones about her financial situation and making an allowance wisely; it also prevents her from expecting Mrs. Jones to do the impossible. It makes for economy because very frequently it helps her to decide that the Jones family needs advice rather than money. In this way a budget leads to a fair distribution and a wise use of tax-payers' money. It helps to take the guesswork out of health protection and the maintenance of the self-respect of a family.

A SOUND BASIS FOR GRANTING RELIEF

Because of variations in human needs and the vagaries of human nature, it is safe to say that no one budget can be applied in all situations or to all families of the same size. It must be flexible. If the budget system as used in giving relief is to command respect, it must be based on something fundamentally sound; something that will prove workable when put into practice.

The home economist who thinks in terms of the home, of home management and of relative values which must be considered in making outgo fit income is, perhaps, better prepared to formulate schedules for planning family budgets than any other group of professional workers. In any event, groups of home economists in various cities, among which are Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, St. Louis, and Washington, have spent years of thought and work in setting up satisfactory standards. The fact that the end results of their thinking, based upon actual experience in families, are not unlike gives us confidence in applying them.

It is generally agreed that for health and self-respect a family must have decent shelter; fuel for heating, cooking, and lighting; cleaning supplies; food; ice at certain seasons of the year; clothing; carfare to and from business with, perhaps, additional fares for other purposes; replacement of household furnishings

such as bedding, brooms, dishes, and electric-light bulbs; and supplies for the medicine chest. Minimum but adequate standards for these items are available. Since they are the minimum on which health and self-respect can be maintained, they are applicable whether a family is receiving public or private relief.

When it comes to individual needs—such as recreation, lodge and organization dues, special medical attention, four years at high school or college for a specially bright child, or music lessons for a child who gives unusual promise of success in this art—a private agency may find ways of providing them which would not be possible in a public agency.

If some provision is not made for each necessary item, however small, whether it be carfare, ice, or medicine-chest supplies, or if a sufficiently large amount is not allowed for clothing, or for light and fuel, the cost of these unprovided-for things will be met by the family, to be sure, but at a sacrifice of some other necessity. Rent must be paid or the family will be dispossessed; gas bills must be paid or gas will be turned off; custom, health, warmth, and the law demand a certain amount of clothing. But as no law or neighborly opinion requires a certain amount of food, this item usually becomes the flexible one from which emergencies are met. Children all too frequently go without sufficient and proper nourishment while rent, gas, and shoe bills are paid, and before one set of bills is wiped out, others follow in such close proximity that bills and illnesses follow each other without end until children become malnourished for want of a carefully planned budget to fit their needs. Health protection is possible only when provision is made for every item in the family budget.

Shelter.—If, then, we plan systematically and humanely for Mr. and Mrs. Jones and their children, our first consideration will be the place in which they live. Some social agencies pay the rent which the Jones family maintained when self-supporting, providing it is not too high, but most agencies state an upper limit to the amount which may be paid. It is equally important to give the minimum qualifications for health protec-

tion, and several cities have budget committees composed of representatives from various agencies which have made excellent recommendations concerning qualifications which should be provided. These qualifications may be used by the case worker as a guide in determining a minimum but satisfactory rental.

In general, these qualifications consider the influence of housing on the health and morale of the family by specifying the living quarters shall be provided in a respectable neighborhood with streets, yard, and building kept reasonably clean; halls of the building lighted to prevent accidents; accommodations in good repair, dry, clean, well lighted and ventilated, free from leaks and vermin, and in keeping with local sanitary and fire regulations. There shall be enough rooms so that teen-age boys and girls may have a place other than the kitchen in which to entertain friends. There shall be a separate sleeping-room for the parents and for children of each sex. A bathroom is desirable, but since it is not always possible, sanitary equipment shall at least comply with city regulations. Every room shall have windows opening to the great outdoors—and not by way of narrow courts, alleys, and air shafts.

The money allowed for rent will depend on available houses and apartments, location, and size of the family. In addition, these questions must be answered: What housing standards have the Joneses been accustomed to previously? Is apartment or house conveniently near to work and school or will carfare be necessary? Would house or apartment nearer these activities be cheaper and as desirable from other standpoints?

The Joneses may own a home which is heavily mortgaged and on which interest, taxes, water rent, insurance, and perhaps amortization must be paid. Would it be better to sell the house, and thus eliminate its upkeep, and invest the equity in some way which would provide an income? There are so many points to be considered in determining the amount to allow for rent that a rent schedule cannot be given in terms of money.

Operating expenses: fuel and light.—A very timely question to ask in deciding about the desirability of house or apartment is

whether or not heat is included in the rent. While the rent of an unheated house or apartment will be lower than that of a heated one, the extra cost of the fuel required for heating may offset the saving in rent. In some instances, it may be cheaper to pay \$5.00 a month extra for a heated apartment than to pay for coal. Or the physical condition of Mr. or Mrs. Jones may make it advisable to provide a heated apartment, even though there is no saving in dollars and cents.

Fuel for lighting and cooking also varies with the kind of fuel used, the size of the family, and the amount of cooking and laundry done at home. To arrive at a fair allowance for fuel and light, studies have been made in hundreds of families to determine the average amounts actually used.

In New York City local gas and electric companies made it possible to secure consecutive monthly bills for two hundred families, covering a period of two years. From these bills tabulations were made according to size of apartment, size of family, and the kind of fuel. Similar studies have been made in other cities. These methods have made it possible to arrive at a workable average which has proved its soundness in actual practice.

Ice.—When heat is no longer required in warm weather, ice becomes a necessity. It is an aid to more economical buying because it permits the purchase of some foods, such as butter, in larger amounts. It also is a means of protecting health through preservation of food—unless all leftover foods are thrown away, and obviously this is expensive. Ice seems desirable in many if not all families during the summer and, when used, experience has shown that from 60 to 75 lb. a week is a fair allowance to make.

Cleaning and laundry supplies.—Other necessary items in the running of a household are cleaning and laundry supplies, matches, and household equipment. The average amount spent for cleanliness runs from five to ten cents per person per week, the amount being influenced by the quantity of laundry done in the home.

Replacement of sheets, towels, dishes, and the like can be done on from ten to twenty cents per person per week with a maximum of about \$2.00 per month. If these figures seem small and inconsequential, a little calculating will show that ten cents per person per week equals \$11.00 per family of four per year. If replacements are not made regularly, there will come a day of reckoning when \$11.00 all in one lump sum will be required for a complete refitting.

Food.—Because of the scientific work done on the relation of food to health, the food allowances of today are on a sounder basis than any other item in the budget. This fact is fast driving the commissary and ready-made food orders out of the relief picture. We are very happy to see them go because they seem to be major offenders in leading to dissatisfaction as well as malnourished children. Many families secreted beans and oatmeal in bureau drawers or sold or exchanged them for things they liked better, and many perishable articles were allowed to spoil because the family did not like them or did not know how to prepare them, or because they were in poor condition when received.

The bases for food budgets are accepted standards for certain known food factors which are essential for growth and maintenance of health. They are ample enough to permit the Jones family, with reasonable economy, to purchase the food necessary to maintain itself in good nutrition and at the same time to build up a reserve of strength and endurance for the future.

While the allowances may seem small to those in the higher income group, yet, as Dr. McLester, retiring president of the American Medical Association, recently pointed out, economics plays a smaller part in preventing malnutrition than does educational work in teaching mothers what foods to buy. One finds as many malnourished children in homes of those who have plenty as in homes of those who have little, and with instruction the health of children frequently improves on food costing less than that on which they have fallen below par.

The education of the family in the best use of its income,

especially the portion spent for food, is one of the best health-protective measures available. Since educational work involves some expense, however, agencies frequently ask whether they are justified in doing it. On the contrary, the agency should ask: "Can we afford to do without it?" In the first place, it is an economy measure for the agency because the educator saves her salary many times over through suggestions for saving which she is able to make.

When considering the benefit to the family, the answer still must be, "Yes," because courage and will-power which are two qualities we want to develop in our clients are closely related to pep and working ability; these in turn are dependent, to a large extent, on the kind of food eaten. As to the amount of money which must be allowed, it will vary with locality because of differences in the cost of foods. Not only should the food allowance be consistent with food prices in a given locality, but because of fluctuations in food prices there should be periodic check-ups in each locality to determine whether allowances are too high or too low. It is obviously unreasonable to continue to use a budget indefinitely. A check-up is quite as likely to mean a reduction as an increase. In New York City the home economists of both private and public agencies, working together, check prices at least three times a year to keep food allowance up to date. Food prices are gathered from fourteen sections of the city in stores where clients shop. These prices are then averaged and applied to a standard food order. This gives the increase or decrease in the cost of the foods purchased, and food allowances are changed accordingly.

Clothing.—Perhaps as much suffering occurs from a clothing allowance that is too meager as from a food allowance that is too low. When no money is allowed for clothing, we must not be critical if some of the food money goes for shoes, or a new hat, or for something which to us may seem not quite necessary. Young hearts ache and youth shrinks from meeting the jeers of thoughtless companions when compelled to wear clothes conspicuous for their misfits or relics of an earlier period. In addi-

tion to the suffering caused by improper clothing, it also may prevent boys and girls from securing good positions and thus hamper them in making progress. The clothing item in any budget should be made with human understanding so as to prevent these serious consequences.

It is impossible to calculate clothing requirements on as scientific a basis as food requirements because of frequent changes in fabrics, styles, and customs; lack of standardization in guiding the purchaser; variation in the wearing quality of the garment and the influence of care on durability. We also find wide variation in clothing needs due to occupation of the individual; social background; varying ability of women to take care of clothes, to make new garments, or to repair and make over old ones. These considerations make it clear that any clothing standard must be flexible so that it may be adjusted to the varying requirements in a family.

As a working basis for reliable clothing allowance, lists of clothing for various age groups and sex have been compiled by groups of home economists with a background of experience in working with families. The New York group consulted experts in various fields, including university professors, clothing manufacturers, and dealers. They checked these lists against records of clothing purchased for a two-year period which mothers in the low-income group kept for them. They had interviews with girls holding clerical positions and earning less than \$20 a week to determine the type of garment worn and prices paid. Mothers who seemed to be clothing children satisfactorily at low cost were interviewed particularly as to the number of shoes required. On the basis of lists thus prepared, cost allowances are prepared for the use of the case worker.

As with food, clothing money allowances must be checked at intervals to ascertain whether changes are necessary. Since this involves comparisons of quality of garments as well as of price, it is very essential that the work be done by someone who knows relative values. In New York various agencies participate in checking prices twice a year—once for winter clothing and once

for summer, each worker being responsible for prices in a particular store.

Health.—Even though allowances for housing, fuel and light, food, and clothing are planned with health in mind, there is still need for a health item in the budget. The Joneses may go to a free dental clinic to have their teeth filled or pulled, and to a medical clinic for other aches and pains, Mrs. Jones may take the children to the health center near by, and the visiting nurse may come in when the children have measles; but there are such things as cathartics and antiseptics which every family should have on hand for emergencies. It may be necessary to pay a small clinic fee or to buy some medicine which the doctor prescribes, or it may be urgent to telephone to the nurse or doctor. To meet these occasional expenses some agencies allow ten cents per person per week while other agencies allow five cents per person per week, the latter covering only medicine-chest supplies. One agency allows eighty-five cents a month for families of less than four and \$1.50 for families of four to seven.

Carfares.—Carfares to and from clinics, health centers, and hospitals are frequently required or the money for them will be taken from the food allowance. If Mr. Jones's place of employment is several miles from home, it will be necessary for him to ride to and from work, and again the food allowance will be drawn upon unless some definite provision is made for his transportation. If Mrs. Jones has to ride to and from market, she must have carfare. Can you imagine what all of these carfares will do to the family food supply if some allowance is not made for them? It seems very clear that an allowance for all predictable carfares should be made in every family budget.

In addition, some agencies feel that an allowance for carfares which will enable promising boys and girls to attend high school is money well invested.

Recreation, dues, and education.—There is a pretty general agreement that the needs of families as discussed thus far are fundamental. Provision must be made for each item considered,

whether a family is on public or private relief. No one item can be omitted from a family budget without sacrificing their health and self-respect.

But there seems to be no common feeling about provision for recreation, lodge and club dues, education, insurance, and savings. Allowances for such items are in a somewhat experimental stage, and doubtless private agencies are in a better position to experiment with them than public agencies. The present tendency is to avoid standardization and to provide for them on the basis of personal need.

If the Joneses live in a community where the law requires that children provide their own paper and pencils for their schoolwork, an allowance must be made for them, the amount required averaging forty-five or fifty cents per month. It is obvious that the cost of school books, books on special subjects, special lessons, a newspaper, club dues, and the like are not applicable to all families—perhaps not the majority. Yet when dealing with human beings for the avowed purpose of helping them to “make good,” we must consider their needs and make our budgets with a human quality.

Insurance and savings.—Although the subject of insurance and savings has been left until the end, it is by no means of minor importance. In fact, it is too big to discuss here. My one comment is that I believe no family should be encouraged to provide for the future at the expense of health, either now or in years to come.

When it becomes known to a relief organization that families are overloaded with insurance policies, they are referred to insurance adjustment bureaus where the problems are adjusted by those who are qualified to handle them. Experience with families who have been referred to such bureaus has led New York agencies to recommend that insurance carried does not exceed forty-five cents per child per month and \$1.00 per adult. This will provide for burial insurance which families feel is essential because of the security it gives them.

APPLICATION OF BUDGET

Detailed information concerning housing qualifications, lists of food and clothing for various age groups, the amount of fuel required under varying conditions, and other details which enter into the establishing of standards as drawn up by several budget groups may be found in *Budgeting the Low Income*, a report of the Budget Council of Boston which is obtainable through Community Health Association, Boston; *The Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families*, Chicago Council of Social Agencies, Chicago; *A Suggestive Budget for Families of Low Income*, Washington Council of Social Agencies, Washington, D.C.; and *How New York City Agencies Budget Their Families* (compiled by New York City Budget Committee and the Welfare Council Committee on Housing), obtainable from C.O.S., New York City.

SOCIAL CASE WORK AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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CASE work today is the target of two mutually opposed indictments. On the one side are those critics who say that case workers are no longer interested in the social adjustment of their clients. On the other side are those who accuse the case worker of trying to bring the client's behavior into conformity with an undesirable social environment. In actuality the goal of the case worker is concerned neither with rampant individualism nor with undesirable social conformity. Instead, the objective is to enable the individual to achieve a life that will combine personal satisfaction and social usefulness.

To discuss case work and social adjustment we need to begin with some agreement in definitions. There are many equivocalities in both areas. Perhaps the simplest way to approach definitions is to do so in terms of a given client and consider what is the area of responsibility for case-work treatment and what the area of responsibility for social orientation—in other words, what is our goal for individual adjustment and what is our goal for social adjustment in a given case. It is undependable to draw conclusions from a few individual incidents, but generalities are more reliable when formed from tested experience.

Mr. Wagner was a troublesome and obstreperous client—even to the point of smashing in a door when refused permission to see his worker—insulting to office attendants, belligerent with relief and health workers, forging a check when relief demands were not met to his satisfaction, arousing community

complaints against the agency, threatening that his wife would commit suicide (although she was actually considering leaving him and being urged to do so by indignant relatives). At intervals he would become suddenly ingratiating and persuasive to a degree that was equally repulsive. The situation came to a case worker when Mr. Wagner had failed for the fourth time to report for a W.P.A. assignment, giving the familiar reasons—too wet, too cold, too far to go, inadequate clothing (although he had refused the clothing given). On the day before Christmas, fortified by two-year-old John, he came to the office. He smiled in a trusting manner, and gnawed on the tips of his fingers as he talked—numerous people had assured him we would understand. We had a special education to do so—he would not need to lie; even the director of the relief agency had told him not to worry. His initial self-confidence began to lessen as he asked anxiously why he had been transferred to a special worker; he didn't understand it. "I didn't cause no trouble. What is going to become of me?" Then he became dejected and contrite. It was all his fault; we could blame him all we wanted. "Punish me as much as you like—take out your revenge on me," a plea which rose almost to hysteria—"punish me, I tell you—I can stand it—but in heaven's name you can't let a little innocent child suffer, tomorrow is Christmas—he can't suffer, I won't let him." The tears came to his eyes. He buried his face in his hands.

What is our responsibility to Mr. Wagner, as a case worker and as a social worker? The original description of behavior—destructive, troublesome, demanding, rebellious—does not offer the same clue to his need as does the torrent of Mr. Wagner's own words and the revelation of swift changing moods. He is dramatic, he is persuasive, he is threatening, he is accusatory—all this we expected, but he is more—he is nervous, he chews his fingers, he tries to be reassuring and complimentary, he brings the child, he is apprehensive and frightened. We realize that this man's emotions are out of proportion to the immediate precipitating cause. When a client's daily contacts with other peo-

ple become so distraught that he cannot transact the items of living without intense distress, the case worker's initial responsibility is to help him toward an emotional equilibrium.

Let us consider several possible treatment approaches. Mr. Wagner is in the office, and the situation must be handled. Giving additional relief, time, and sympathy had been previously tried—the result, the broken door over a slight prohibition. With such inability to bear limitations it is not fair to overindulge and then withdraw. What he anticipates is a scolding, and he might feel better momentarily if given one, but then he will feel abused and with some justification. In place of these extremes Mr. Wagner was told very matter-of-factly what would be done in line with general policies and that it was expected people would take W.P.A. assignments. But the case worker did not confuse his economic need with his emotional one. As a matter of fact, he did undertake the W.P.A. work without further argument. Undesirable expressions of behavior might be temporarily eliminated by any of these approaches but the latter method would be of more continuing value than the indulging and the scolding.

The second treatment proposal was to divert his obstreperous energy into a channel where it would be made acceptable. Frequently we hear that the case worker is too much concerned with rebelliousness—it is rebelliousness which makes for social progress, and these people could solve their own needs and at the same time make a contribution to society by joining a radical group where such characteristics would give status. As we are considering ways of helping Mr. Wagner specifically, it might be true that in such a group he would have no need to fear retaliation from his outbursts. An appropriate environmental arrangement might afford a protection. This would presuppose that all of his destructive energy could be confined to this particular setting and would no longer come out against wife, family, employer, or in other social contacts. It would also imply that his behavior would be acceptable to the group, which we

know is frequently not true as it results in friction not in leadership.

Do we distinguish clearly between that normal aggressiveness which is basic to growth—the biochemistry of life itself—and the distorted aggression of infantile hostility? In planning treatment we need to distinguish the source. If we are dealing with the former, we should welcome a wholesome rebellion against unjust social conditions. But the distorted hostility does not lie in social injustices, relief limitations, W.P.A. insufficiencies. The dynamics are not in the current situation but are the residuals of early emotional upheavals. While it might be true that his characteristics could be made useful to radicalism, we discount the individual torture which these aggressive outbursts bring to the individual. Could we then imagine placing a hostile person in a hostile environment where recurrent explosions will be precipitated?

The third treatment approach is a more pretentious one—to weaken or bring about a renunciation of the destructive emotion at its source. What substantiation have we that Mr. Wagner's feelings do arise from an infantile hostile source? Certain mannerisms—gnawing his fingers and weeping, swift change of mood and choice of words—are childish in character as well as highly emotionalized. A subsequent interview is more specifically revealing. Mr. Wagner had inadvertently referred to his mother, and the case worker said, "I don't believe I've heard you mention your mother before." He stared suddenly, sat very still for some moments, and blurted out explosively, "That name hasn't crossed my lips in years. I wouldn't be here now"—his voice trailed off—"well, if she were living, would I?" Life was over when his mother died; he was eight or nine then. He has taken care of himself since, just about supported himself since he was eleven or twelve. His tone of bitterness in these remarks was more pronounced than the attitude of self-pity which the words imply.

With this enlightenment it would not be difficult to explain to Mr. Wagner that he is confusing feeling of the past with the

present, that what he wants from the case worker and from other human beings is the love which he did not have as a child. That he overexaggerates deprivations and losses because they bring forth all the feeling he had over those experiences as a little child. On another day Mr. Wagner brought in his pay check to assure the case worker he was really working. She wondered why he had thought that she doubted him, whereupon he decided that it had always been like that with him. His fear was that people were trying to get something on him. Mr. Wagner agreed with the case worker that it was his own feeling which got him into these jams.

Is it possible to evaluate whether any gain has been made toward the lessening of destructive conflict? Mr. Wagner accepted the W.P.A. job and continued to hold it until a general lay-off occurred. He is voluntarily seeking work, he has accepted agency limitations, he has assumed more responsibility for planning his own budget; he no longer talks of deserting and his wife no longer talks of leaving. These are concrete gains easy to enumerate. The treatment period has been of short duration, but our real interest is in the hope for a more lasting change of attitude, that the change from insincerity to earnestness, from rebelliousness to calmness and ability to reason, will continue. While treatment continues, periodic discharges of feeling will deceive us as to the progress in this direction. Although the outbursts are continuing to occur, Mr. Wagner shows more ability to understand the explanation, and the explanations produce a quick calming-down. It is important that we do not confuse values. The acceptance of a W.P.A. assignment is not equal to the acquisition of a new-found poise. In fact, an ability to reason might still result in a refusal of a job, but that refusal would be based on objective consideration and not on a burst of internal defiance.

Before considering the social implications in Mr. Wagner's case, let us take for contrast quite a different type of situation. Hannah, a girl of twenty-two presents a disconsolate picture with complaints of physical nature—violent headaches, throb-

bing pains in her stomach, nausea, inability to eat or sleep, extreme nervousness, and frequent weeping. To reduce expenses, Hannah and her mother had moved into the home of her brother and sister-in-law. The sister-in-law is so mean; she criticizes, she wants them to get out. Last year Hannah had a gentleman friend but the sister-in-law would not let him come in the front door; now he has left. When they prepare food, the sister-in-law gives them half-a-dozen dirty looks, so now they cook in the basement and use the back stairs. Her mother is a sick woman—she has gall stones and heart trouble. Now the mother weeps all the time so that Hannah has had to give up her job to stay with her.

In initiating case-work treatment we have again a person with specific complaints—a person who is able to admit his distress, though the form of distress and the way of admitting it differ with Mr. Wagner and with Hannah. Hannah does not meet the frustrations of her environment by slapping back but rather by giving up her home, her work, her friends, and turns the suffering on herself, in illness. After thorough physical examination she is told that no organic basis has been found and she must control her nervousness. As with Mr. Wagner, self-control is the proffered remedy to the achievement of a balanced personality. Sometimes it seems as if this idea of a balanced personality is the case worker's idea of adjustment, but the client is at odds with this purpose, and so a persistent and gentle kind of tugging begins to yank him into the desired orderliness. Mr. Wagner and Hannah are only two individuals, but they represent the kind of client whom we may be able to help because they show so clearly what "being at odds" means to them. It is their concern as well as the case worker's to achieve better mental health. Apparently Hannah is not able to carry out the doctor's orders to control her nervousness unaided. Some individuals can find the way toward that solution for themselves. The client who comes for treatment indicates he cannot do so alone. In this case Hannah places the cause in environmental circumstances and asks for definite assistance in

moving as a solution. Frequently we are misled by readily offered solutions, and frequently the attention to simple requests is a reliable introduction to determining the seriousness of the illness. Making available specific resources in terms of the client's request without indicating our own attitude as to the wisdom of his choice may be a way to test his belief in his own plan, for his need to defend it is removed. It is even conceivable that the client may know best. Hannah entered whole heartedly into the carrying-out of her plan as soon as money for rent was put at her disposal—locating rooms, arranging with the landlord, and moving. A few weeks later a cure seems to have been achieved. She is so happy to be alone with her mother; now she sleeps, she can eat almost anything, the cramps in her temple are gone, she wants to live again. The case worker has brought about this miracle, and Hannah develops a strong attachment for the case worker. "This is your house"—she wants the case worker to appreciate all her efforts in fixing it up; all her efforts in improving her own appearance; the purchase of a manicure set and a curling iron. She cheerfully accepts suggestions as to places to look for work and secures employment. She has her girl friends visit her again as she has a nice home now. Do we look a little askance that adjustment has come about partly through a positive attachment? As Hannah says, "My mother depends on me; I depend on you." Whatever the case worker's conclusion as to the meaning of the dependency, are we entitled to resume or continue treatment when the original complaints have disappeared? It would seem to me that our responsibility for treatment would have ended when normal activity was resumed, unless the breaking-off of the contact precipitated other conflicts.

As a matter of fact Hannah presented one more complaint—by asking the case worker if there was a man for her. Now she has a place to bring a man friend, she has no man friend to bring. A few weeks later she marries a recent acquaintance, and the marriage brings into the foreground some of the conflicts we might have anticipated. She cried a whole week before mar-

riage. She didn't tell anyone because she was afraid Jim would back out; she is afraid she will quarrel with her husband—her mother is now in the way—it is bad to live with in-laws—there will be quarrels. Her husband is restless and she is afraid he wants other women. Her headaches and pains have returned. Some of the history in this case helps us to understand the basis for such fears. But the history which Hannah brings out as part of her own feelings is more useful in treatment. She is afraid of quarreling—she is afraid her husband will not remain nice—he is nice now. She is afraid he will drink, and go with other women; she herself adds that this is what happened to her mother and father.

The dependency on the case worker is serving another purpose now—by making possible a ready talking of these worries, an admitting of the fear of quarreling as something in herself, and a willingness to accept the clarification of her anxieties. There is a kind of “yanking” going on in Hannah; she is being pulled back by the stirring of inner anxieties which the marriage has aroused, pulled forward by all the normal urges for satisfaction and success in the marriage. The case worker again stands in the position of a person to whom feeling can be discharged and by whom confusion can be cleared away. On the day when the case worker tells Hannah that things are going so well that she will not need to come anymore, Hannah is in a very happy mood about her house. The test of improvement lies in change of personality—the transition from physical symptoms, mental worries, and fears to a cheerful, optimistic attitude and wholesome activity. Perhaps there has been a transferring of dependency from the mother to case worker, from case worker to husband—which implies that dependency is still there; but perhaps, also, that need itself produces a strength in maintaining agreeable family relationships—when that dependency is not too loaded with anxieties and irritations from within.

What are the case worker's goals in treatment? So far we have been attempting to work out a definition of individual adjustment. This has implied confining the area of treatment to

the area in which the individual feels the illness. With neither Mr. Wagner nor Hannah did we go into aspects of their situation which they did not bring up through their own concern. We have also been attempting to select the method of treatment which would seem to be the most consistent with the source of the difficulty. Upon the recognition of source depends, first, the degree to which the disturbance can be controlled under the conscious dictate of the client; second, the degree to which favorable environmental situations can be used; and, third, the degree to which the destructive feelings and tendencies must be discharged or reduced. We have tried many approaches to influence conduct—persuasion, suggestion, cajoling, insisting, denying, condemning. As the treatment method becomes more nearly consistent with causation, we may hope for a like improvement in the lasting values of behavior changes.

Our original premise had to do with the connection between individual adjustment and social norms or social standards. Individual adjustment cannot be separated from social adjustment when we realize that the urge for social adaptation is inherent, that we cannot live without contacts with other human beings and without meeting the demands of reality. The quality of the social adjustment which the individual will make will depend on the quality of his individual adjustment. Case workers have been through successive struggles devising statistical cards as one means of evaluating case-work services. It is interesting to see how the items shift from the specific and concrete to more generalized goals which represent social values.

Each individual is a social entity and comes to the short episode of case work with a well-formed social heritage which will naturally influence his future social choices. He cannot escape the pressure of his own social environment which is constantly playing upon him and will pull him in the direction of conformity to its norms. Case work is not a substitute for social action, and social action is not a substitute for case work.

METHODS OF RECORD-KEEPING OF GROUP BEHAVIOR AND INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS

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WHATEVER generalizations are made in this paper are based on record practices as reported from agencies in twelve communities, six of which are metropolitan areas including suburban towns. These areas are located in ten different states and represent settlements, national organizations, community centers, club and church groups from the far west, middle west, southwest, and eastern part of the country. Contributions were received from seventy-one different group workers. The writer has used a collection of some record forms now in use as raw material for this paper.

There seems to be a general impression that group workers do not keep records. This opinion is sometimes expressed by case workers as a criticism and by group workers as an explanation of the inadequacy of the tangible evidence of their work. More discouraging is the indifference on the part of some board members, executives, and even group workers, themselves, who show no conviction as to the necessity of record-keeping. This attitude that group records are a luxury which most agencies cannot afford presents some obstacles which it is well to recognize as part of the situation. These obstacles are: inadequate clerical assistance, too heavy activity load, not sufficient time for supervisors to secure records from volunteer leaders, insufficient training in the technique of record-writing, and uncertainty as to what to record.

It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to deal directly with the obstacle to record-writing, but rather to point out the kind and quality of records which are being kept in spite of the obstacles, the value of records as indicated by group workers who use them, and, in conclusion, the problem which record-keeping presents to the agency and to the community.

First, let us consider the records which are now being kept, which may be roughly classified into five groups: (1) attendance, (2) program content, (3) questionnaire recording both content and reactions, (4) monthly and annual reports, (5) weekly narrative records, and (6) individual contacts.

Attendance and stability are the most universal characteristics of group behavior recorded; there are no agencies included which do not keep an attendance record, and most of them are able to tell how many attended which activities. Beyond this no generalized statement can be made. Perhaps the record of program content is the next most frequently used form. This is kept in a great variety of ways—on cards, in file folders, in leader's notebooks, in club secretary's minutes, and by other methods, which consist chiefly of lists of events or of kinds of meeting. Some have developed a form, such as a page or card, with columns and headings, such as "Program Planned for Next Week," "Program as Actually Carried Out," and "Success of Program." This method may give a picture of the interests and attitudes of members as a whole as reflected by the program content, but it offers little check on the relationship of the program and the real interests of the group, for the evaluation of the program is in terms of the leader's opinion.

However, some hypothesis about group behavior might be made by the reader with insight if he asked himself such questions as these: Do these programs reflect a group which is quiet or active? Which provides opportunity for physical relaxation? For mental stimulation? Does this program show that the group was curious or passive? Does this program cause conflict within the group? Is the group following this program ingrown or outreaching? Does the program show consistent develop-

ment of interests? This list of questions might be extended until a fairly well-rounded hypothetical pattern of group behavior is presented. This method is probably of value for future program planning and is better than no basis for work, but what of the individual within the group? No two had exactly the same reactions. Out of a record of this kind little can be expected for the individual who needs help from the leader in making his adjustment to the group.

The questionnaire, or check list, is another form of recording group behavior with which there has been some experimentation. This method is superior to the former in that it not only records program content but also gives opportunity for direct recording of reactions. These records make it possible to discover some behavior patterns of the group as a whole. It seems a fair conclusion, however, that in this form only the behavior of the dominant subgroup or individual could be recorded, and the interaction between the numbers—the group process itself—would be left in the realm of conjecture. In addition to this serious omission is the further difficulty of devising an adequate check-list form.

Many agencies depend entirely upon the third method, that of the monthly and annual report, for their knowledge of what happens within a group. These reports are frequently made by the professional worker and are based on notebook jottings, interviews with volunteer leader, and the most universal of all depositories of group-work annals—the “group worker’s head.” Since these reports are usually written with the reading public, a board committee, or staff in mind rather than for the purpose of an actual record of interactions and behavior patterns, their value as records for this purpose is seriously to be questioned.

Experience with these methods has more or less demonstrated their inadequacy in recording group behavior and presents something of a consensus of opinion that interaction in varying situations defies classification. The record must rely for form upon description and narration. For greater accuracy and clearness entries should be made following each meeting of the

group. This fifth method, the weekly narrative form, takes time and produces bulky records unless the recorder is good at analysis. The narrative form in itself demands training in both thought and rhetoric. However, these forms not only record program content but the reaction of individuals to the program, to one another, to the leader, and to other individuals and groups. It is possible to discover membership of subgroupings and changes in group status of both individuals and subgroups. It is possible to locate conflicts; to note group and individual contacts; and through these reactions to see actual evidence of individual development and adjustment in the group and that of the group in the agency and even of the group in the community at large.

But this recording of what happens within the group alone is not sufficient for a really adequate tool for good group work. Each individual within the group is important, and some method for individual records is needed to supplement that of the group record. For many agencies the problem here is primarily one of integration. The registration and attendance records within the agency do not necessarily guarantee the use of these records by group leaders. Vital statistics collected on registration cards are important to the extent to which they are used in connection with understanding the behavior of the individuals.

The individual contact record should show sources of previously collected information as well as those contacts which the group leader has had. Devices for these records vary as much as those of group records—cards, folders, notebooks, and “group-work heads.” The amount of information about each individual is an even greater variable. Agencies which have done the most admit that, with present loads and limitation of staff and facilities, adequate records can be kept only upon those individuals whose problems have forced them to the attention of the group worker. It seems to the writer that, if agencies would include in their routine work the making of individual files containing not only information from registration cards but also a record of other information available within

the agencies and the Social Service Exchange, the group leader might find it possible to add to this the records of casual contacts as well as special interviews which make up the bulk of the group leader's work with individuals.

Even the weekly group record, supplemented by all the information available on individuals, can be of little value unless the worker who keeps the record is qualified in ability to observe, and to analyze, as well as to write. This presents a great difficulty. A realistic picture of group work reveals the use of many untrained leaders, both volunteer and paid. It is encouraging to have group-work agencies increasingly fill executive positions with trained workers, but it is equally important that the persons who actually work with groups be likewise trained. The beginning of adequate records lies in the training of leaders.

Effective use of non-professional leaders is dependent upon effective subdivision. The record is an essential tool of supervision. This presents a vicious circle which must be deliberately broken if the quality of group work is to be improved, and the hiatus between its objectives and its performance to be lessened. In other words, if record-keeping is essential to the "doing" of a group-work job, the first step is to give it a proportionately important place in the group worker's schedule even at the expense of some other less important duties. The next step, as has already been suggested, is an integration of all forms of records now in the agency for the use of the group leader. The third step has likewise been intimated, namely, the need of education of the leader as to the value and use as well as to the methods of record-keeping.

A group record might be divided into the following parts: (1) roster sheet, (2) attendance, (3) group program and behavior, and (4) individual contacts. The actual form will vary from agency to agency according to the objectives of the agency and the assumed training of the leaders, but, whatever form is used, the following outline presents what seems to be the minimum amount of information necessary for the performance of good group work.

1. History, including how group was formed
2. Roster sheet, including "raw statistics" from registration card
3. Attendance record (individual- and group-record form combined)
4. Group meetings
 - a) What did the group do?
 - b) Of what significance was the meeting for individuals? For the group as a whole?
 - c) What symptoms of individual problems did you see?
 - d) What were the group problems?
 - e) Plan of procedure
5. Individual contacts
 - a) Record of casual contacts, planned interviews, and home visit
 - b) Other information available within agency
 - c) Social Service Exchange clearance

There seems to be conviction among the group workers co-operating in this study that records are valuable and needed. Evidence of this conviction is not only in the written word but in the many forms of experiment now going on. The following list of values of record has been collected from the answers to the questionnaires.

I. Value for leader in work with group

Provides tool for constant analysis

Gives a picture of individual and group growth, provides material for intelligent co-operation with other social-work agencies (referrals)

Helps leader to understand the group

Indicates profit and loss

Shows up needs of individuals and groups

Makes leader more objective

Stimulates the leader

Shows club's ability to work out its own problems

II. Administrative value

Provides basis for supervision and leadership training

Facilitates staff and leadership clearings

Provides factual material for formulation of policies

Provides material for interpretation of agency to the public

III. Offers material for research purposes

Problems facing the group worker today demand analysis and knowledge which he can get only from carefully kept records. Hospital social service, child welfare, family service—any

of these companion fields would be in an equally deplorable state if the machinery of record-keeping were withdrawn and the case workers left to their own devices and pencils for adequate records. Group-work agencies have met the demands of community chests for statistics as to numbers and facts of publicity value, for standardized accounting systems of financial support. They must now meet the demands of professional social work for quality of service to their membership. Good record-keeping is not for the purpose of reporting to boards or chests but for the purpose of improved group work because of better opportunities of evaluation and future planning. It is the use made of the record which is the all-important aspect of this subject.

The extent to which record-keeping in group-work agencies has gone in spite of the handicaps is a good omen for the future. The task for group workers is to refuse to accept the present situation as a limitation and definitely work for recognition of the importance of group records and for their inclusion in agency budgets. If community chests, boards, and other administrative officials recognize these facts, the present situation will be changed more quickly than we now anticipate.

REPORTING ACTIVITIES OF GROUP-WORK AGENCIES

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THE phase of statistical reports of activities of group-work agencies is the one that I propose to cover in this discussion. By statistical reports I mean reports submitted to a central agency, such as a community chest, council of social agencies, or national organization; for example, Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, National Recreation Association, or National Federation of Settlements. This discussion on statistical reports for group-work agencies will be further delimited to include three subdivisions: the history of reporting, its present status, and some of the problems that have been encountered along the way.

In 1928, when the Joint Committee for the Registration of Social Statistics, representing the local community research committee of the University of Chicago and the Community Chests and Councils, Inc. (then known as the National Association of Community Chests and Councils), undertook to establish a uniform central reporting of statistics by social agencies, the plan was to include dependency, delinquency, health, and character-building. The fourth field, however, was not included in the final plans because it was found that reporting in this field was exceptionally difficult. Therefore, during the two years that the project on the registration of social statistics was carried on by the Joint Committee and during the five years from 1930 to 1935 that it was carried on by the Children's Bureau, there were no reports from recreational or educational agencies.

National agencies have, of course, required statistical reports

from their local branches or areas, but these have been developed by the individual agencies, and no statistics have been collected which would yield comparable statistics for the different agencies.

Local communities, especially those where there were strong community chests or councils of social agencies, have asked for reports from members in the so-called "character-building" field. Dayton, Ohio, was one of the earliest to develop this type of reporting, and there followed within the next few years Buffalo, Detroit, Minneapolis, Columbus, St. Louis, Kansas City (Mo.), and Cleveland, to mention only a partial list. In most areas the demand for these statistical reports came from those interested in budget control or publicity and not primarily from the groups interested in evaluating the program or collecting basic data about social agencies. Some of these reports were annual, but most of them were monthly. In general, they included both a count of attendance and an attempt at an unduplicated count of individuals served. There were, however, few items on any of these reports that were common to all, and even attendance figures were not collected in a comparable way.

Because the work done in Chicago has had a distinct bearing on the whole development of group-work reporting, I shall discuss in more detail the history of the project there. As in other cities, the request for reports from group-work agencies came from the Community Fund because of the need for information for budgeting and publicity. The Bureau of Statistics and Research of the Council of Social Agencies in co-operation with representatives from the settlements devised two report forms, and all group-work agencies were asked to keep these forms. One was a monthly report of attendance and the other a quarterly report of membership or an unduplicated count of individuals. The terminology on the attendance report was most interesting and reflects the thinking of the time. Groups were classified as "organized" or "other supervised"—a designation which was found on reports from several other cities. Organized

groups were subdivided according to three types of activity: physical, educational, and social. Under each subdivision were listed the various activities. In this way one could get a fair picture of the program of an agency, but as far as obtaining an accurate statistical statement, the form was poor because there was not sufficient differentiation between the categories.

These forms were put into effect in October, 1933, and used until September, 1935. Various difficulties with the forms led the Council of Social Agencies to make a fairly comprehensive study of the problem of reporting in group-work agencies. This study was begun in January, 1933.

As a result of the audits and the study of reporting in other cities, it was found that the same form would not be applicable to settlements, boys' clubs, community centers, and scouting programs. Accordingly, agencies were grouped into three types: (1) settlements; (2) Scouts and Camp Fire Girls; and (3) associations, boys' clubs, and community centers. Three tentative forms were drawn up by the Bureau of Statistics and Research, and these were submitted to agency representatives and were accepted and revised by them. While this process was going on, the National Federation of Settlements asked the Chicago group to help them develop a form that could be used nationally. This request gave impetus to the project and, as the forms were developed, the National Federation of Settlements was kept informed of the progress. By June, 1935, the three forms were completed in addition to a form for the registration of members to be used in an annual report from settlements and report for camps. The settlement form was presented at the annual meetings of the National Federation of Settlements at Montreal and was adopted by the group as the form to be used experimentally by twenty-five agencies in fifteen cities.

In May, 1935, conferences of local supervisors of social statistics in the registration areas were held, and at these there was a great deal of discussion on the need for including group work as one of the fields in the Children's Bureau project. Since there was so much interest and demand for a uniform group-work re-

port that could be used nationally, the Children's Bureau began to study intensively the work that had been done and in June decided to develop forms for use in the registration project. By August, 1935, two forms had been developed. After several revisions during which national agencies, supervisors in the local areas, and experts in the group-work field were consulted and their suggestions incorporated, the two forms were ready for use in January, 1936. The use in the local areas was optional, but at the present time the co-operative project includes 527 agencies that report to the Children's Bureau, 50 Chicago agencies, and the settlements that use the Chicago form. Of this total, 415 agencies are reporting on Form G-1 and 112 on Form G-2. Of the agencies reporting on Form G-1, 54 are settlements affiliated with the National Federation of Settlements, 46 are Y.M.C.A.'s, 54 are Y.W.C.A.'s, 25 are departments of recreation and other public agencies, and 236 are other agencies. Of the agencies reporting on Form G-2, 44 are Girl Scout councils, 22 are Camp Fire organizations, and 46 are Boy Scout councils.

In Chicago the Children's Bureau forms were not adopted because the Chicago development was so far along by the time the Children's Bureau began their work that it was decided it would be of greater advantage to use the more detailed forms developed in Chicago and thus let their use constitute an experiment.

In determining what the content of the present Chicago and Children's Bureau forms should be, it was decided that the two major divisions were to be the unduplicated count of members and the aggregate count of attendance. In other words, on these reports we were interested in knowing (1) how many persons the agency serves, that is, the enrolment; (2) how often it serves them—that is, the attendance; and (3) how intensively the agency serves them—that is, the type of group activity.

In order to obtain the necessary information for the unduplicated count of individuals, a central file or index is necessary. The information requested on the reports for this section is the

number on the register at the beginning of the reporting month, the number added during the month (subdivided as to those not previously known to the agency, and as to those known to the agency either during the year or prior to the reporting year), the number dropped, and then the final total to be carried forward to the following monthly report.

For the purpose of reporting attendance the work of group-work agencies is to be thought of as dealing (1) with groups that meet regularly and have a definite enrolment, (2) with groups that meet regularly but do not have a definite enrolment, and (3) with groups that meet for special events. From a report of this type it is possible to determine what percentage of an agency's attendance comes from small, stable groups with continuing programs, how much from groups that use the agency's facilities but are organized on a come-and-go basis and have no continuity of program or stability of membership, and how much comes from groups that attend special events, mass primarily of the spectator type, each event being a separate and complete unit in itself.

In order to show greater detail in regard to the first section there are listed clubs, classes, special-interest groups, and club committees and interclub councils. This does not, however, show a complete program of the agency's analysis because it does not list in detail the kind of classes or special-interest groups or the age of the club. In order to eliminate duplications, groups organized under national programs are listed separately. The use of facilities is subdivided into gymnasium, playground, swimming pool, and game room. Special events are classified as to dramatic and musical programs; athletic contests and demonstrations; forums, lectures, and educational events; parties, dances, teas, and other social recreation; and others. For each item we need to know the number of groups, the number of sessions, and the attendance. On the Children's Bureau form, attendance is subdivided according to members and visitors. A column for enrolment is also included for the groups having a definite enrolment.

As you may well guess, the problems in developing these forms have been many and varied, and to date they are far from solved. There is, first of all, the psychological aspect, the feeling on the part of many agency executives, sometimes amounting to antagonism, that to develop statistical reports is to take away from the spirit of the work. The group-work field has been the last major field in social work to be interested in the use of statistics.

These are problems that are inherent in the field. One must think not of individuals in relation to a single case worker or in relation to individual health problems but rather of the complex relation of an individual in a group and of the group's relation to other groups in the agency. There are also the problems of reporting sex and age distribution, how to count activities, and how to analyze the program.

Another difficult point has been to decide which agencies should be included in the report. Should art museums that do a good deal of informal education through classes and lectures be asked to report on this form? Should organizations sponsoring a definite political or social program be included? There has also been the question by churches and other organizations which have a religious aspect to their work as to whether we should count the religious activities of educational and recreational departments whose facilities are provided.

We have not as yet an adequate form for the reporting of camp activities. Camps certainly provide a major part of the recreational and group-work activities of a community. In addition to summer camps there is also the problem of reporting the use of camps for week-ends and other short-time periods. One of the most difficult counts to obtain from settlements has been the unduplicated count of individuals. When does an individual become a member? When does he cease to be one?

There are complicated interrelationships which exist between agencies which must be considered in dealing with statistical counts—examples in which one agency furnishes the leadership and another the space. There are also interagency activities in

which groups from different agencies meet but keep their identity. This is particularly true of teams in athletic contests. For the agencies reporting on the form for Scouts and Camp Fire Girls it has been found difficult to report attendance. In a city where there are several hundred groups scattered over a wide area and a small professional staff in the central office, the problem of collecting attendance figures for all these various groups is exceedingly complicated. Another problem that has arisen has been the reporting of individual services along with the group-work services. This problem may be solved by the use of more than one form.

In conclusion, let me make it clear that statistical reports are in no way intended as the only means of evaluating an agency's work. They are, however, basic in that evaluation, but to be valid they must be supplemented by observation and by expert judgment. We hope, however, that the time will come when reporting in this field will be accurate and thus make it possible to use those figures to help tell an agency's story.

A VOLUNTEER'S PREPARATION FOR GROUP LEADERSHIP

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IN GROUP-WORK agencies the last few years many staffs have been cut down in size, and yet the number of people coming to take advantage of their services has steadily increased. The staff members have heroically carried on their work but have depended more on the help of volunteers and, recently, on National Youth Administration workers. Volunteers are recruited for group work from many walks of life. One of the most successful types of leader is the boy or girl who grows up through the clubs and classes of an agency and develops outstanding qualities which enables him or her finally to supervise a group. Second, many young people are recruited for volunteer service through their school, their church, or perhaps through the staff, board members, or other volunteers.

In Cleveland and in many other cities some volunteers are placed in settlements by the Volunteer Association and the Junior League. These organizations give an extensive orientation course on the social agencies of the city, so that a volunteer placed by them has some background of social work but lacks specific knowledge of group-work techniques. This year group-working agencies have also had N.Y.A. workers assigned to them. These are quite often neighborhood young people, sometimes ones who have never come to the agency before.

Of all these, some are young men or women just out of school or college, with a great deal of time and enthusiasm but not good for a long-time pull. Others are married women who can't

give much time but enjoy the work thoroughly. Finally, there are mature men and women who work during the day but make a hobby and recreation of group work, and can be depended on to give a great deal of time and enthusiasm for many years. Many leaders in the Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A. fall into this last category, and most settlements have a few of these jewels on their boards or committees.

The types of service given by volunteers fall into three classes: (1) membership on boards and committees; (2) club leadership or class instruction; (3) special jobs such as motor service, camps, Christmas, day trips, and other short-time seasonal jobs. In the early days of settlements it was quite the thing for serious-thinking young people to live in a settlement for a while, helping with the programs and learning about the poor and underprivileged. Several of our most prominent citizens in Cleveland, such as Mr. Newton D. Baker and Miss Mary E. Raymond, principal of the Hathaway Brown School, were residents at Goodrich Settlement house years ago, and have since been the backbone and pride of its board. But all volunteers cannot now be trained for volunteer service by living in the agency. We are demanding more and more training for our teachers, our doctors, our social workers—why should the volunteers who assist these professionals in their work be let off with slipshod methods?

First of all, any volunteer needs a general course of lectures on the history and philosophy of group work as applied to the particular community. Modern theories and relationship of group work to other social service work should be explained. The volunteer wants to know something about the neighborhood nationalities, housing, and recreational facilities or lacks. He is interested to know what social legislation has been effected that touches the individuals in the neighborhood; what additional laws are needed; and what is being done or can be done to obtain them. The training course should be as comprehensive as possible, to show the agency's program as a whole picture of social activity and an integrated part of city-wide welfare activi-

ties, and should be a stimulating challenge to the volunteer. The Volunteer Association and the Junior League usually do give their members a course of this kind, but the agency needs to give this background to those volunteers who are recruited in other ways, and to all of them more specialization and group work.

After the general lectures must come some training in practical psychology and discipline. The average volunteer from outside the neighborhood is appalled at the idea of facing a group of youngsters or adolescents alone. How do you make a roomful of boisterous little Italians or Hungarians behave, when they have been under constraint in school all day and are now raising the roof? Shall you allow bedlam to reign, or shall you try to compel those squirming, noisy bodies to be still? How can you teach anybody anything if you can't make yourself heard? How shall you deal with the emotionally unstable thirteen- and fourteen-year-old girls, the physically underdeveloped child, the petty thief, the bossy one, the boy-crazy one, the movie-struck little junior-high-schoolites? These problems and many more are complicated by the strange influences of religion, poverty, and crowded home circumstances about which the average volunteer knows nothing.

One girl I knew was highly trained in drawing. She was assigned to a group of twenty little girls between the ages of eight and fourteen, mostly South European, with a few colored. At first they were very much in awe of her, impressed by her clothes, and everything went fairly well. But she hadn't the faintest notion of how to keep order in the class, and they soon saw that they could get away with anything. They made her life miserable, and she hated it so that she simply had to force herself to go there every week. After the year was over, she never went back to the settlement and the staff didn't feel too badly about it because it seemed that her class had not accomplished very much.

This girl could have been made into a successful group leader if she had had the proper training and help. She should have

been taught practical disciplinary measures and had the opportunity of watching more experienced group leaders. She should have had conferences with a staff member about children in her group, and been given information as to how she might meet problems as they arose.

The neighborhood volunteer or, as in the case of the Y.W. C.A., the industrial girl or boy who shows ability in his classes until he is singled out to lead one is not so defeated by the question of discipline. He is familiar with those he is leading and understands their mental processes, because he comes from their ranks. These volunteers have a great advantage. But, on the other hand, they are familiar to the members of the clubs or classes, and do not bring the richness and glamor of outside experience. Nor have they usually had any training about the more intellectual aspects of group work, the history, the theory, etc. They need to be taught the large view of social work and be given the feeling of being a part of a world-wide movement.

A volunteer comes to a group-working agency with an honest interest and enthusiasm for group work or he would not be there. There are many attractive kinds of volunteer jobs open to the questing volunteer nowadays. Why should he choose to come and work among noisy, crowding, boisterous children and young people unless he has a real desire to do group work? The agency, then, should be very careful not to destroy his interest by plunging him into too difficult a job, or too distasteful a group. I don't mean that volunteers should be pampered, but they should be carefully guided and educated into group work by a good training course, and then given a fair chance to make good by expert supervision.

This brings me to the second point I want to make. After the educational training course for volunteers is over, the agency must not sit back and think its job is done. The initial conference with a staff member is terribly important, and the supervision a volunteer receives can make all the difference in the quality of his work. He must have someone to whom he can bring his problems, who can advise him in his difficulties and

help him plan his programs. A discussion, singly or in groups, with other volunteers helps solve some problems, but a volunteer unsupervised will gradually go stale. Wise supervision helps keep the volunteer on his toes, and to change his jobs, when necessary, keeps up his enthusiasm. The Y.W.C.A. has an excellent policy of this sort of shifting its volunteers to acquaint them with as many aspects as possible of its program, thus building up their interest and their value as potential committee members. This system can't be worked in case of club leaders, of course, as long-time contact is there the valuable asset. Too often a busy staff, harassed by a tremendous job, is only too glad to let a volunteer alone if he seems to be getting along all right. But this is unfair to the volunteer. Not even the staff members would be expected to do a good job under similar circumstances. They have their staff meetings, their informal discussions, their supervision by the headworker. The volunteers should have some of all this, too.

Those attempting to lead classes in arts, crafts, and dramatics should have especially close supervision. If one settlement alone can't afford a trained craft teacher, perhaps two or three could get one to supervise the arts volunteers in all three settlements and thus raise the standard of all. This idea will be considered in Cleveland next year in the field of dramatics. The Junior League has long been interested in bringing plays to the children in settlements, and especially to those who have no dramatic director or setup of their own. Now the Junior League has raised a sum of money to pay the salary of a trained professional dramatic director who will supervise the dramatics in several agencies which now have none at all, or very little. The new director will train and supervise volunteers to carry on the work, and we are all very interested to see how it will develop.

A volunteer should not be allowed to simmer along in his own little niche without being kept alive to the larger problems facing the agency. He should be talked to about the needs of the neighborhood, such as playgrounds, parks, tennis courts, supervision of public recreational centers. He should know some of

the problems that are facing the staff about the future of the agency and its relation to other agencies so that he may feel as one with them about trying to achieve better conditions.

One of the main aims of a settlement or a Y. is that the people who come into its rooms, young or old, shall have an interesting time, have fun. Otherwise the competition of commercial recreational facilities, such as the movies, pool parlors, dance halls, etc., would be greater than the social welfare agency could possibly meet. To meet this competition, all the club and class leaders—board or committeemen alike—must be thinking and planning ahead of their groups under the inspirational supervision of trained staff members.

Third, I believe that all volunteers should be required to read as much as possible in the best literature of group work. I do want to say to the professional worker: "Don't just hand a list of books to a volunteer and say, 'I hope you will get some of these from the library and read them,' " because the volunteer probably will not. Put the book you want him to read in his hand and say, "Will you have a conference with me next Monday and be ready to report on the book?" Or arrange a round-table discussion with several volunteers all of whom are asked to read the same book or books. Henry Busch has said: "A leader should be acquainted with the literature bearing on the process of group thinking." Such books as the following and many more should be familiar to the volunteer: Jane Addams, *20 Years at Hull House* and its sequel; Henry Busch, *Leadership in Group Work*; William A. White, *The Mental Hygiene of Childhood*; and Leta Stetter Hollingworth, *Psychology of the Adolescent*; and many pamphlets on special topics, such as the *Settlement Primer*, by Mrs. Simkhovitch, and many others which professional workers know but too often do not think of bringing to the attention of the volunteer.

The values to the volunteer of more training in group work are many. He gets more and more personal satisfaction from the feeling of doing a good job, and if he is helped by good supervision to do an even better job, the resultant pleasure in-

creases. He becomes a better citizen every day if he works in an agency where the volunteer's training is taken seriously.

Better-satisfied volunteers will give longer and better service to the agency, and the agency will reap the benefits of the time put in by its staff in training the volunteers. But more than the actual work accomplished is the value of spreading accurate information about the agency and the problems it faces throughout the community at large. If the volunteer is well taught, he will carry out to the general public an enthusiastic and intelligent picture of social work. Volunteers may be of service to an agency by interpreting the needs of the neighborhood to influential outside sources, and assist in getting the community to correct existing evils. They can help achieve more co-operation with neighboring schools and churches. The hundreds of men and women who are giving a few hours every week now to a club or a class in a group-work agency will, not so many years from now, be the civic leaders who will control the destiny of many social agencies, will contribute the money, and will say how it is to be spent. Only this past week in Cleveland we were pleased to see that at last Cleveland playground directors are all to be on civil service. This much desired move has been brought about directly by the action of a group of lay and professional people interested in the recreational facilities of Cleveland, who were dissatisfied with the public playground management and went to the new mayor and asked him to appoint a lay board in advisory capacity to the public recreation director.

To sum up, may I repeat that volunteers want: (1) a good educational lecture course, given by a volunteer association or the group-work council, with stimulating outside speakers on general subjects; (2) training by the staff of the particular agency on problems peculiar to the work of the agency (this should be done in the early fall, perhaps, in a two- or three-day institute which all volunteers would be required to attend before they begin their actual service); (3) regular and frequent conferences and discussion with staff members; (4) meetings

with other volunteers, perhaps once a month, for purposes of discussion, book reports, comparing of mutual problems, etc.; (5) constructive criticism from the staff and judicious praise; (6) careful placement with close follow-up; (7) discussion about the larger aspects and problems of the agency; and (8) required reading, with discussion afterward.

In general, I think that volunteers ought to be looked on by the staff as students. Volunteers want just as much training as they can get, as much as a busy staff can spare the time to give.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL ACTION FOR THE GROUP-WORK AGENCY

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NO ONE really belongs on a staff or on a board who isn't hardy enough to come up against any problem faced by the individuals for whom he or she is presumably making plans. This holds whether the problem is one of bad dance halls, prostitution, bad housing, or political corruption; a new political theory, birth control, or the prevention of sickness; whether the problem of youth presents itself in the baffled search of young people for work, or their response to some movement that seems to hold out hope for them and their kind. In becoming a part of a social agency we connect ourselves inevitably with all the factors that go to make up life, and we become in some measure responsible not only for the results but for the causes of social maladjustments—the maladjustments that make necessary our particular kind of social work, whether it be a family society, a settlement, a Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A.

My first call on a family in a tenement came when I was a student at the New York School for Social Work. I remember, on getting back, saying to the older worker who had me in charge, "Aren't those dirty, dark halls horrible?" "Yes," she said, "and when I rebel at them, I always think that little children have to use them every day"; the implication being that if children could stand them we could too. I agreed with her, with the reservation—slight then but very strong now—that we ought not to let children stand them; that while we travel up and down their dirty, ugly lengths we had better be thinking

out ways to get rid of them. It is rated as poor case work to leave a family under one's care in objectionable quarters. It is poor health work to leave a family where they cannot be well. But in the long run it is both poor case work and poor health work merely to move particular families and do nothing toward changing the conditions out of which you have taken them and into which others will move.

In the same way, it is poor group work to leave the groups one deals with unconscious of the part they can play in changing their own living conditions. Groups of tenement mothers organized by the settlements in New York have for years been going to Albany to testify as to tenement conditions. As consumers of housing, they bring a reality and detail that none of the rest of us can match. Take this testimony given in Washington by an East Side mother when last year's Wagner housing bill was before Congress:

I am a mother of the slum area, and I am speaking for many, many thousands like myself, who cannot come here personally. When I speak, I speak for them all. We live in houses that should have been condemned perhaps 25, 30 or 40 years ago. We are not living in them by choice. We are living there by necessity. . . . I live in four rooms. . . . I pay \$28. . . . We have no steam. . . . They are windowless rooms, which is very, very bad for our children. . . . We live in a house that houses 30 families and perhaps 4 or 5 tenants use the same toilet. They come in and go as they want. People from the street can come up and use that toilet, and of course our own families have to use it too, and before we know it something terrible has happened to our children. . . . We want better homes for low rentals, rentals that we will be able to pay according to our husbands' earnings, and God knows they earn very little now.

There is another Wagner housing bill before Congress today. For six years we have failed to play the trump suit which England has played to get low-cost housing and make the getting a force for employment and recovery at the same time. I wish that every social worker and every board member would go back to his hotel and write or telegraph his senator and congressmen to push this new Wagner bill that will mark a new stage in turning our social concern into social action.

In doing so you will be throwing your weight behind such tenement mothers. Let me tell you what was done this last month by the League of Mothers Clubs of the New York settlements. They joined in a petition to the President of a new sort. In signing their names they put up five cents apiece to cover the cost of their photographs. Over six hundred signed, and every name was below a small picture of the signer, taken by the photography class at Henry Street and Hudson Guild. The portfolio made a volume as big as an unabridged dictionary. The first pages were given over to pictorial evidence of hallways that are firetraps, windowless interior rooms, common hall toilets, and other evils of our old-law tenements. This is the petition they took to the White House:

We, mothers of the New York tenements, urge the President not to forget that hundreds of thousands of us and our children still live surrounded by the physical and moral dangers of the slums. We have trusted you to take the lead in pulling down unfit houses and building new ones, but it is very hard as the months and years go by to keep our faith and patience when the new houses seem so far away. Others may tell you that business is more important than babies but we know better. We feel that in your heart you are with us and can and will see that laws shall be passed this year that will make possible widespread slum clearance and widespread low rental housing with federal help. Because all our mothers cannot come to speak for themselves, we are sending you our names and our pictures as the best way we could think of to show you how much we want you to understand and to act now.

There are two kinds of consequences involved in social action—first, the gains or setbacks to the community; second, the consequences to the social agency itself. I cannot think of such consequences as concerning merely the group-work field, because they affect all social work. True, in dealing with groups you are in a position to help people to express themselves, whereas in the case-working field social workers and board members have generally been the spokesmen. But the responsibility for social action rests as directly upon one type of agency as upon the other, and the consequences on the agency may be similar. In either case the agency which sees its job only as one to ameliorate the effects of what is wrong, and to develop tech-

niques for such amelioration, is in the position of a town below an overflowing river that refuses to be interested in flood control. Moreover, not only what causes the need for relief but how such needs are being met, as a whole, in the community should be their concern. It was the job of the private social agencies of the country to fight for public unemployment relief when, as the depression wore on, the burden could no longer be borne out of voluntary funds. The exceptional ones did, just as at a later stage they have been active in pressing for unemployment compensation and old age pensions as elements in a long-run plan.

With so few of the states keyed yet to the Social Security Act, we can go back from this Conference with the determination to bring the whole country abreast. The Act needs overhauling; it needs to run the gauntlet of the courts and to be amended and strengthened where there are faults and weaknesses. But we can be thankful that at last we have a start toward nationwide protection to develop in the years ahead.

As social workers we can bear in mind that one of the telling forces in securing the enactment of relief and social-security legislation was the demand of the unemployed themselves. Their processions, their meetings, their delegations to Washington—all counted in the momentum that dislodged our national inertia. Social action for change and advance is inescapable unless we are willing to drift along eternally patching up the consequences of social neglect and industrial breakdown. We should share in it and help shape it, but increasingly the force that is going to count most will be made up of the people most concerned, and as group-working agencies we can help keep the channels open for education and expression so that there is better equipment in working out problems. To do this there must be free discussion.

So it is that one of the most important questions before us today is that of free speech. We have reached that point in civilization where we may turn our minds to science and experiment without danger of suppression; where new religions

may seek converts without fear of persecution; where invention of all kinds of machines that displace labor go unmolested by the community. But there are three areas where freedom is still threatened in spite of all that was set down in our Declaration of Independence and in the American Constitution and its amendments. One area comprises the question of war and peace; another that of old racial and religious prejudices; and a third, economic and political means out of the dilemma of unemployment and want.

Our country is rich in the things our people lack, and we have not worked out a way of bringing goods and people together. Not only have we failed, but we slip back, speeding up production while employment lags behind. Meanwhile we pass bills to prevent economic or political discussion except in the presence of a flag. I often wonder that instead of trying to suppress discussion of ways to put people to work someone hasn't suggested a bill providing that only so many inventors might get together to plan a labor-saving device without putting up an American flag of a certain size. After all, the contrivances for putting people out of work seem to be going ahead so much faster than discussions with or without the flag seem to be putting them back! And this does not mean that I am against labor-saving devices, but we have not yet learned how best to make them serve us.

Today in social work all of us who are dealing directly with groups of young or old, or with individuals, must be facing in greater or lesser degree the dynamic of discontent. I, for one, am grateful that times have changed. I still remember vividly the apathy of the unemployed in the early days of the depression. Relief was cut off for ten weeks in Philadelphia, while the legislature bickered as to appropriations. A study made at that time showed that many of the unemployed searched garbage pails for food. Just lately, when the New Jersey legislature failed to make appropriation, the unemployed descended on the capitol and settled down to make their plight known; certainly for people brought up on ideas of democracy, a step ahead of

searching garbage pails. It was encouraging that conservative papers carried this exploit with considerable sympathy, and I did not happen to see the usual comment that the demonstrators must be Communists.

The growth of the unemployed groups which began in the Chicago settlements has had an interesting development, and they have played a significant part in the improvement in relief standards and in raising local budgets. In the course of it, in one city or another, they sometimes hounded, yelled, demonstrated, picketed, and reviled, but though it has been uncomfortable for social workers as well as for others, and some of their tactics have been unfair and perverse, I think there are few of us who do not feel that these groups brought much-needed vitality to their cause and got redress in unnumbered cases of injustice and neglect.

There are various stages along the group-work path in dealing with young people who come to us and on whom all these forces are playing. First and most familiar is the function couched by the very general public as "keeping them off the streets." A futile enough conception—but it makes us modest to admit, as most of us would have to, that we have seen groups handled at some time or other in our own agencies so uncreatively that they might just as well have been on the street getting the air. The next step in the group process is one in which through educational and recreational programs the individual is enriched and developed to the point where he may rise above and shed his environment and build a better life for himself. A further development, and a more difficult one, is that of helping the individual to become aware of his responsibility toward the whole, and shifting the emphasis from education for personal success to education for group responsibility.

This brings us concretely to some few examples of the consequences to group-work agencies themselves of social action either on their own part or on that of some of the groups with whom they deal. To illustrate—a score of young girls, workers in a small factory, decided that their working conditions were

intolerable and walked out of the factory. They had no connection with a union—no leadership. They were just girls outraged at treatment that seemed unfair. They found themselves on the street with no place to meet to discuss their troubles. One of them was a member of a nearby settlement. "They'll take us in there," she said to the others, "because we talk about working conditions in our club." They were, of course, given a place to meet in the settlement; they later joined the union in their trade; and sometime afterward the community chest of that city had notice that the industry to which that small factory belonged would not give money to the chest if that agency were in it. I am glad to say that the chest stood by the action of the settlement in question, regardless of the pressure brought to bear on it.

Miss Wald writes in *Windows on Henry Street* of her work for peace. During the World War she writes she "was disciplined by the torture chamber method of having the money withdrawn which enabled the nurses to care for the families of the soldiers no less than the other sick."

The war-time attacks on Miss Addams are well known. The history of Hull-House is one of sheltering unpopular causes and of resulting adverse criticism. In honoring Miss Addams today too little is said, it seems to me, in memory of her unfaltering courage in her community in defense of the minorities which found shelter and interpretation despite lack of public understanding.

Only recently an organization for young people in a middle-sized city rented their auditorium to an outside group to have a Peace Day meeting. The community chest in that town got a call from a Hearst newspaper reporter to the effect that a radical meeting was to be held in one of their agencies and a story would be forthcoming unless the meeting was stopped. Fortunately the directors of that agency were of a caliber that did not quail at threat of such dictation; the chest backed them up and the meeting went on. A pitifully mild meeting it turned out to be, and they said they felt a little silly to have been heroic

about it. Of course, Hearst attacks on workers' education have been so frequent as to be almost taken for granted. But public attacks of this kind still do damage. People are nervous at criticism, and they fear misinterpretation and unfriendliness. You hear of organizations curtailing their liberal policies under attack or in fear of attack. The Leftists say that this is a perfect example of the inherent weakness of social work under a capitalist system. That would be true if most agencies beat a retreat, but I know more who stand their ground and move forward than who retreat into inaction or reaction.

Fortunately there is a large body of people who really believe in democracy enough to go on trying to hammer out a good life by that process: people who are willing to have life questioned wherever it breaks down; who believe that if men, women, and children are idle and hungry while we destroy pigs or burn cotton, it is the essence of the American way to search for more reason in the ordering of life. It is these people whom we may count on to stand by us in our everyday work in resisting dictation of a reactionary or of a revolutionary kind, because one can be bullied from both ends. Settlements and social agencies are in a favorable situation to carry on a two-way process of education. As a matter not only of self-preservation but of social progress we should set ourselves the task of doing a much better job than we have ever done before in spreading insight and understanding which can be the basis and supply the urge for social action. We are by no means custodians of the whole truth; but there are some things we know close in, and these we can share. Those of us who work with groups of young and old who are struggling and reaching out for opportunities learn that many of them bring to the struggle verve and initiative and courage to equal anything America has ever known. Are they to be told because at times they may embarrass us that they have no place in our agencies? If so, then we fail to play our part creatively in the continuous process of building America.

THE NATURAL GROUP

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PROBABLY the most widely accepted method of group formation in use today is that of the interest group, in which individuals are organized under a leader to participate in a definite activity, such as folk dancing, radio construction, sports, or dramatics. The individuals in the group are attracted to the activity without any particular consideration for age, background, or previous social connections, although these may play a secondary part, but rather for their interest in the particular activity. Probably few of the members have ever been previously associated in any way. They come together at stated intervals at the agency to pursue their chosen interest. Usually this is the extent of their association with the group.

More recently a new type of group formation has been fostered in a number of agencies. A small congenial group of neighborhood people, adults or youths, may ask for the facilities of an agency to carry on their already organized activities. Such a group may consist, for example, of seven or eight boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen who live in a defined area, who usually have a common national, racial, and economic background, and a certain predominating set of interests as a group. Before coming to the agency they have already existed as a group or neighborhood gang with a natural leader. They ask the director for the use of the gymnasium to play basketball, and for the clubrooms to hold regular weekly meetings to plan and discuss their activities. For the sake of convenience we shall call them the "adventure clubs," for we shall refer to

them again for illustrative purposes. They are assigned a leader—preferably a trained group worker who begins by helping the group to carry out its expressed interest for definite activities. Starting at the point where he finds the group's interest to lie, the leader has an objective in mind, namely, the enlarging and enriching of its program to include new interests and activities which will assist in the members' ultimate adjustment to the small group and to the community at large. This cannot be accomplished by confining group activities to one short meeting once a week in the agency. Often the leader finds it necessary to identify himself with the group by holding meetings in the homes of members or in former neighborhood haunts. He finds it also necessary to acquaint himself thoroughly with the background of each individual by frequent home calls, church and school contacts, and acquaintance with neighborhood conditions.

Having attempted to describe the natural group, let us proceed in an examination of its various aspects. As we can readily see, this type of club is spontaneously formed. The members have come together of their own volition, within their own environment, out of interest for one another, rather than for the activity. To put it in another way, they have come together because they liked doing things together rather than a specified thing. Their existence as a group does not depend upon a stated and prearranged program or activity for which the agency is responsible. Their existence rather depends upon previous natural association within a given geographical or cultural area. Our Adventure Club, for example, was an outgrowth of a friendly association which had been formed in a parochial school during the first four or five grades. Later, when the children had been transferred to various public schools in the district, the friendship had continued. Other clubs are formed of members living on the same street or in the same block.

In their earliest beginnings social agencies working with groups of people were mainly concerned with the direction of the leisure-time activities of the people in a given community

by directing these activities into socially acceptable and constructive channels. The program played an important part, the leader thinking in terms of the activity first, then the individual afterward. During the last decade, however, the scope of group work has been widened in two ways: the group worker has learned to consider himself a guide and teacher in stimulating thought and action which will make for social participation and social change. He has taken a more intensive interest in the growth and adjustment of the individual to society; and in directing the leisure-time activities of the individual and training him for social participation, the individual's background forms the core around which he builds his program. However, the formal program as we used to know it has become secondary.

Since the majority of our clientèle is made up of first- and second-generation immigrants, the racial as well as the religious background of the individual must be taken into consideration. When dealing with a group of young people whose parents represent the Polish peasant immigrant, the problems of group organization and program will differ greatly from those of a group of young people whose parents came from Russia or Poland and profess the Hebrew faith. Customs and traditions are deeply ingrained, and only patient work and sympathetic understanding of the "why" will free the individual of the weight of prejudice and foreign tradition which stand in the way of apprehending his place in our new society. Also, the individual's cultural and economic background determines the rate of his adjustment.

In the so-called "natural group" the members have generally the same common background which makes for a homogeneous group facing similar social and economic problems. In helping the individuals to meet problems in making an adjustment to society, the leader of the natural group has an opportunity to work with the group as a whole in relation to its background. The leader of the interest group, having the same objective in mind, is usually obliged to consider a number of different backgrounds.

It has been agreed that a great deal of the work done by social agencies and teachers in behalf of the individual's adjustment to society is hampered and often undone by the home and the community. We must not forget that the individual spends the greater part of his life within the family group and is exposed continuously to its influences, which may be good or bad. It is, therefore, of great importance that the part which the family and the home play in the development of a person should be taken into consideration by the agency. The group leader who has been accepted by the group generally finds very little difficulty in entering the home. Many of the activities carried on in the agency may be transferred to the home if the structure or organization of the group is such as to permit this. The natural group is particularly adapted to this technique. It permits the agency through its representative, the group leader, to enter the home and indirectly carry on an educational process whose extent may be greater than if conducted within the limits of the agency.

As a corollary of group activities carried into the home, it has been found that parents and other members of the family have become indirectly involved in the educational program of the agency, whereas they might otherwise never have been reached. The group leader has an opportunity here to interpret the activities of the group and the program of the agency to the family and to the neighborhood, and thus extend the scope and influence of the agency.

It is often difficult to interpret the actions and attitudes of an individual merely by observing him in the group situation. It is only by having access to as much as possible of his whole environment, his home, school, etc., that the leader can arrive at any degree of understanding in order to assist individual development. The group leader is expected not to consider the club member as an entity apart from the family but as an inseparable part of the family group and his community.

Since the natural group is not dependent for its existence upon the agency, it follows that group activity is not limited to

the period once a week when the club meets in the settlement or clubhouse, but very often is carried on as a part of the daily recreational experience of its members in the home or in the neighborhood. Thus the Adventure Club may, through the stimulation of its leader, become interested in a project which does not require the facilities of the clubhouse. Model airplanes started in the craftroom may have reached the stage where they can be finished at home. A basement workshop is fitted out, and the club adjourns to the home of one of the members to carry on its work daily until the next weekly meeting.

To repeat what we have said previously, the natural group has been formed by individuals who are associated voluntarily for the purpose of doing things, rather than a specified thing. We pointed out that the Adventure Club had come to the agency expressing interest in athletics and social activities, but we indicated that it would be the job of its leader to introduce the group to new spheres of activity as the opportunity presented itself. This would not be possible in a club which had been formed for the purpose of producing plays, for instance. Although the group could go on indefinitely producing new and different plays, it would probably be impossible to interest all the members in, for example, radio-building. The diversity of interest possible in the natural group has a broadening effect upon its members, by pointing out the possibilities for activity in various fields, though it probably will not afford the valuable and intensive training under specialized leadership possible in the interest group.

Because of the conditions of its formation, the natural group tends to be small in numbers and often somewhat ingrowing, and for this reason affords a very limited social experience for its members. A small group which has had a long period of association offers a safe haven for the more introverted type of individual who probably would never become a "good mixer," while the larger interest group would not attract him. This conceivably has both advantages and disadvantages. The close contact between the individual members and the leader affords op-

portunity for something approaching case work, by which individual adjustments may be effected. However, individuals who need a broader social experience may find themselves hampered by the few contacts. Groups of this kind very seldom welcome new membership to any great extent but, like the amoeba, having reached a certain size, usually divide.

The successful conducting of natural groups requires a slightly different type of leadership than the interest group. Because of the diversified program, the emphasis is placed more on a broad background of interests than upon skill in any particular field. In developing the interests of his charges the leader must use great imagination to introduce new ideas, or to seize upon those expressed by the group and develop them further into tangible activity. In this his job is similar to that of the teacher in the progressive school. Furthermore, because of his work with individuals and their families, he needs an understanding of the motivation of human behavior as well as techniques for dealing with it.

We might also add that from the administrative angle a program of this kind tends to be more expensive. Work with each group is intensive and time-consuming. The groups are small, and more leaders are required to reach a given number of individuals served by the agency. More space is required to accommodate the various small clubs.

In summarizing we have tried to differentiate between two types of group formation recognized by group-working agencies: the interest group which is organized by an agency to carry out a definite program of activity, such as handicrafts or dramatics, and the natural group which arises outside the agency but utilizes the agency resources and leadership. We have been concerned with the latter, or natural group. We have tried to show that:

1. Natural group organization affords opportunity for a diversified and flexible program to fit the needs of its members.
2. The small numbers and common background of its members make possible a more complete understanding of each in-

dividual by the leader, so that individual adjustments may be effected. Also, the similar background allows for working with the group as a whole in relation to its environment.

3. Because of the emphasis on background, home, and community contacts necessary in dealing with this type of work, the leader is able to extend the influence of his agency through the group into the home and community.

4. Natural groups tend to remain small and sometimes ingrowing and offer less of a social experience than other types.

5. Leadership requires great imagination and understanding of the motivation of human behavior, as well as a broad background of interests, rather than highly developed technical skills.

6. Administrative costs are increased by the large number of leaders needed to serve small groups.

SPECIALIZED INTERESTS AS BASIS OF GROUP ORGANIZATION

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AN INTEREST is specialized by virtue of the fact that some people have that interest and others do not. The normal distribution curve applied to the interests of individuals does not materially change this fact since the intensity of a person's interest is the true criterion and not the mere possession of it. The environment does not create an interest; it merely provides an opportunity for the exercise of that which already exists. Of course I am speaking of enduring interests based on natural aptitudes, not passing hobbies or interests characteristic of a certain age level.

Specialized interest would be a fine thing as a basis of group organization were it not for the fact that such an interest, if it be real, is a lonely thing. The creator as well as the performer and consumer of cultural substance which is at the basis of such special interest is not a joiner of organizations. Since the purpose of this paper is not to present an objective study but to give the impact of one worker's reasoning upon his experience with special-interest groups, it may not be out of place to say at the outset that it is his discouraging realization that the vast majority of the persons who come to the institutions in which he has worked have no enduring special interest. Widespread education has given them many cultural tools, which, owing to lack of basic sensitivity, they cannot use for creation or appreciation. The inevitability of this fact stands out in stark contrast to all our efforts in creating new techniques of appreciation. If Spearman's statistical concept of "G" intelligence is correct, further

research in the field of special interests may establish a "G" sensitivity to cultural substances or values.

American methods of salesmanship applied to cultural commodities have made our institutions culture-conscious. This has resulted in the creation of humming factories of educational activity in an atmosphere of depressing mediocrity. Self-expression having become a cult, the word "creative" has been used to justify mass production of bad art, music, plays, and the like. This was made more apparent in the last few years by the enormous expansion of our educational activities through government subsidy. Thousands of persons who have never studied art before are now painting away like mad. Exhibits of the mediocre work of both students and teachers flood the hastily improvised galleries. The number of persons who are preparing to become artists, actors, writers, and teachers has increased with a corresponding decrease in the quality of work. We have begun to talk about a renaissance in American art. The probability, however, is that we are creating vast audiences of culture-tasters who take a sip of this and that—fifteen minutes a day or one evening a week. The story about a woman's club which wrote a lecture bureau to the effect that its members had covered the literature of the world and that they would now like to start a new topic is, in essence, not exaggerated. Are we not, as educational administrators, helping to lower the national standards of taste and appreciation by lending ourselves to this great delusion?

A review of the history of the aesthetic fads of this country, such as the spurious literary, art, and theater movements of the last decade, should lead us to a few fundamental ideas to guide us in the administration of a program of educational work in recreational institutions.

1. The concept of individual differences in intelligence, reduced to fairly definite terms by the I.Q. tests, should help us select those with special interests based on natural aptitudes. Whatever theory of intelligence underlies these tests, their practical application has shown that certain persons are not likely

to master certain subjects. Likewise, we should recognize that certain persons lack the inherent sensitivity for the creation or the appreciation of the arts. It is useless to coddle them into believing that they can enjoy Beethoven if they lack the basic sensitivity to music of that level. Music-appreciation courses teaching the biographies of composers with illustrations from the melodic portions of their works do not serve the purpose. There are persons who lack the kind of sensitivity necessary to understand the poetry of an Edwin Arlington Robinson despite the fact that his language is not a barrier. The literary groups meeting in our institutions justly merit the ridicule of the very lecturers on literary topics whom they pay to talk to them.

2. It is time we stopped worrying about producing great works of art. They cannot be increased through our efforts. Nor do prizes, scholarships, or endowments hasten their birth. In a few cases such aids may lessen the pains of labor, but when a genius or a man of talent is born, he is probably what is called a "sport" in the orderly process of heredity.

3. Bad art is worse than no art. The theory that participation in the arts as a creator or a performer leads to an understanding and appreciation of great works is not brought out by the facts. On the contrary, it is likely that the amount of recognition and praise lavished by us upon the feeble effusions of would-be creators in our midst lowers the sense of cultural values. It isn't likely, for example, that acting Shakespeare, no matter how poorly, helps us to understand his greatness. Nor is it true that our innumerable self-expression dramatic groups become the future audiences that support the better theater.

4. The shibboleths of progressive schools based on experience with children who are not random samples of the population as a whole should not be emphasized as much as they are in our work with special-interest groups.

That the community center draws a type of membership that is generally indifferent to those activities which we are accustomed to call "cultural" was statistically illustrated in two institutions where there was a sudden change of program. When

the Pittsburgh Young Men and Women's Hebrew Association opened its educational department, over seven hundred new members joined the special-interest groups and courses. On the other hand, less than 5 per cent of the general members took advantage of this new educational program; furthermore, that small percentage enrolled for a few of the free courses which were the only courses that failed to maintain a regular attendance.

In the New York City Young Men's Hebrew Association at Ninety-second Street a new educational program covering almost every type of special interest was started this season. Over six hundred new members joined the "Y" for specific educational activities. Several thousand non-members came to recitals and forums. However, less than 10 per cent of the general and club membership responded. The House Counsel, representing all the organized groups in the "Y," passed a resolution to the effect that although they do not object to the new program, they cannot at present participate in it on the ground that it is not adapted to the interests of the "Y" membership. Even in the activities which have a wider appeal, such as dramatics, there is a fairly clear line of demarcation between those who participate in the activity as a more-or-less permanent interest and those who enter it through the artificial stimulus of tournaments and appeals to club spirit. The club members stayed away from the forums, which attracted several thousand non-members. In arranging their own forums free dancing was provided before and after, with a thin slice of the forum itself in the middle.

It seems that in amassing cultural substance as well as in amassing wealth the rich become richer and the poor poorer. But while in a future economy of abundance there is hope that the poor may become a little richer, there is no such hope in the cultural field despite increasing educational opportunities. That the selective factors based on inherent aptitudes are the final arbiters in an environment of competing interests is strongly suggested by such research studies as that of Charlotte Bueh-

ler's in biography, aptitude, and special-interest tests, long-range observation of identical twins, study of genes, and the like.

Schools have saved millions of dollars and helped countless children by recognizing the inherent limitations of some children in pursuing educational work. They realized that improved teaching techniques did not help those children do what was beyond their intellectual capacity. If we are to gain from such experience, we shall have to get rid of some of the conventional ideas we have accepted uncritically as the basis of our work. The most popular of these are that creative activity is significant in itself regardless of the quality of the product; that self-expression is more important than the thing it expresses; that superficial education in the arts is better than no education; that everyone has a divine creative spark and should be encouraged to write, paint, act, or sing.

A national conference is as good a time and place as any to re-evaluate such cherished principles. Perhaps we may find them to be merely slogans adopted as a reaction against the sterility of the educational systems of the past. As such, they have served their purpose, but we have worked them to death. If we need a distant goal to give meaning and color to our daily work, let us dedicate ourselves to an American renaissance of values, even if we must substitute for a time the oriental habit of reflection for the American urge to do.

RESEARCH AND METHODS OF EVALUATION IN GROUP WORK

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IF PROGRESS is to be made in the field of group work, something must be done to improve the methods and to clarify the standards by which group work is evaluated. Both in the practical leadership of groups and in research, evaluation is basic. Unless we know how good a job we are doing, how can we intelligently plan to do a better one? Without reasonably precise instruments of measurement how can investigation and experiment be conducted?

It must be confessed that the social sciences, including psychology, have not yet developed to the point where one set of aims can be factually and finally validated in contradistinction to another. The principles of group work are still in the realm of philosophy rather than in the realm of scientific law. The reasons for this condition are many and familiar. Societal phenomena are astoundingly complex and never exactly repeat themselves. If the socialization of the individual and of the group to which he belongs be accepted as a crude formulation of the aim of group work and effort be made to evaluate a group activity in terms of it, how numerous are the difficulties encountered. What are the precise criteria of socialization? By what techniques shall they be applied? How be at all sure that such socialization as is recorded takes place as a result of the activities under observation?

Of the instruments of evaluation used in group work perhaps the psychological test most closely approaches the scientific. If group work is supposed to modify the individual, then the

test should measure that modification. It is unnecessary here to attempt to enumerate the many tests that have been developed. The Character Education Inquiry was rich in test techniques, and since its completion many others have been devised. I think it fair to say of them that they are as a rule very limited in their range of application and quite costly. And, of course, where modification of some aspect of personality over a period of time as a result of group activity is to be measured, the result is be-deviled by the presence of other variables, uncontrolled and even unrecognized. The use of the control group which W. I. Thomas rightly considers essential to really scientific procedure has rarely been used with success. To pair, member for member, a group subjected to certain influences with a group not so subjected is far from easy. But the greatest difficulty arises in the effort to make and keep the other elements constant for both groups. I would not for a moment give the impression that I consider efforts along these lines a waste of time. They are absolutely essential to progress in this field. We should devote more, rather than less, effort to the task of devising instruments of measurement in the field of the social sciences. But in the meantime you and I must conduct groups, train and supervise leaders, and make our plans for the summer and fall programs. What are the more immediately useful, if less reliable, techniques available for us?

Since the methods of evaluation must be developed in relation to the standards to be applied, it is impossible even to discuss them except in terms of those standards. I shall assume, therefore, that our concern is to discover the adequacy with which the principles of progressive education are being applied in the direction of certain groups. Every such investigation that I have made has revealed the necessity for and the absence of adequate records. Such records as are kept are incomplete and usually unreliable. For records have been devised not primarily as an aid to evaluation but as a basis for reports to the supporting constituency and for campaign material to increase that support. Under such circumstances strict accuracy seems un-

necessary. Glittering generalities suffice. Records which fail to show an impressive increase are not quoted. Disheartening facts are simply forgotten. Obviously such records cannot safely be used as a basis for judging the effectiveness of any program. The first task of any institution desiring to make self-evaluation an integral part of its structure must be to build a system of records with that end in view. Indeed, the establishment of such a system should be one outcome of the effort to judge the efficiency of any program.

Since such records are rarely to be found in operation, it is usually necessary to try to do without them. This means an effort to unearth such information about the history of the group as may happen to have been put upon paper or to remain in the memory of certain individuals. It likewise means the observation of the group in action over a longer period of time than would otherwise be necessary. For no adequate evaluation can be made save over a period of time long enough to allow observation of the group in process of change and adaptation to a variety of circumstances.

In order adequately to evaluate the activities of a group it is necessary to answer the following questions. First, as to its origin: When and how did the group come into existence? Was it a natural or a fabricated group? Who was chiefly instrumental in its organization? What was its form of organization? Who were its charter members? Around what interest or interests did it organize? Where and how often did it meet? Second, as to its development: What changes have taken place in the variety and emphasis of its interests and activities? What changes have taken place in its leadership and form of organization? What major conflicts and divisions have arisen within it? What associations has it had with other groups and with institutions? Third, as to its present status: What are its present membership, interests and activities, places and frequency of meeting, leadership, form of organization, conflicts, divisions, and associations? What are the basic facts about the individuals who constitute it with particular attention to its leaders, natural and

superimposed? Fourth, as to evaluation of what has been described: What is the social significance of changing interests and activities, both for the group and for the larger community? What were the points of origination of plans and projects? What was the degree of participation in them? How successful were they in terms of what they sought? How effective was the leadership exercised in terms of methods and objectives and of the personal relationships between leader and group members?

The sources of information upon these questions are likely to be as follows: former and present members of the group, including leaders; records of the institution; minutes of the group; reports of the leader; and supervision and observation. The art of observation demands a high degree of accuracy in seeing and of precision in telling what occurs. But it demands more than this. For the observer must be able at the same time to hold up against an activity some measuring rod of its excellence. Effective observation and evaluation demand a rather intimate knowledge of what is normal and usual to the type of activity under investigation.

An observation schedule, if expertly drawn, is of help in centering attention upon significant aspects of activity. At the same time, if followed slavishly, it tends to get between the observer and his object. He should so thoroughly know the schedule as to be able to fix his attention where it belongs, upon the activity. During the progress of the activity he should never attempt to check the items of the schedule in the order in which they are listed, but should note them in the order in which they occur. He should be especially alert to observe the unusual, the unexpected, the subtle, for which no schedule can make place. He should free his mind, so far as possible, from all preconceptions as to the probable worth and effectiveness of the activity. And he should be particular to note evidences of social reactions to each phase of the activity—approval and resentment, enthusiasm and indifference, co-operation and antagonism, the nature and amount of participation.

Following are a few of the more important items of an ob-

servation schedule devised for the evaluation of boys' work in a Y.M.C.A. club meeting:

Hours of observation.—Arrived, left. Competing events (with hours).

Before the meeting.—In what ways is the day's program an unusual one for this club? (Ask leader.) How did boys greet leader? What was their attitude toward him? Who called boys together for meeting? Were they eager for meeting, indifferent, or reluctant? Note unusual or significant conduct of boys or leader before meeting.

Opening of meeting.—Who called meeting to order? When did club president take charge? For what hour was meeting scheduled? When did it actually open? When did leader arrive? How many boys present at opening? One to fifteen minutes late? Over fifteen minutes late?

Procedure.—Was there: roll call? reading of minutes? collection of dues (amount per member?) How and by whom is money kept and handled? Was business conducted according to accepted parliamentary practice?

Program (evaluate).—What distinct items of business were taken up? (Number these.) Which of the above (by number) represent continuing projects? Which is temporary only? Which of the above (by number) were suggested or originated by the club leader? Which by members of the club? Which were items of general association program? Which were items of club program alone? Describe content of program, other than business. (How originated? How planned? How related to interests of club members? How related to previous and future club activities?)

Participation.—How many members actually took part through speech? Does some particular person or small group dominate? If so, who? How many members were inattentive and apparently uninterested throughout? Did the club leader make any effort to encourage or increase participation? If so, what?

Club leader: observation.—What qualities, attitudes, and be-

havior in the leader seemed to appeal to the boys? On controversial points did the club leader's suggestions seem to dominate the group? Did he insist on having his point of view accepted? Was there evidence of personal antagonism to the club leader? If so, what? State briefly any other significant observations regarding relations between leader and clubs.

Club leader: interview.—After the meeting try to have a talk with the club leader, with special attention to the following points: knowledge of boys in his club; knowledge of parents of boys, etc.; relations between boys in club. Does club seem to be a natural grouping? What interests do members seem to have in common? Was there evidence of factions in the club? If so, what? State briefly any other significant observations regarding relation between leader and club.

Relations to other groups.—What evidence of activities carried on in co-operation with other clubs or groups?

Control.—Is there a system of rules which seems to be well understood by the boys? If so, note the most important. How was order maintained? By whom? How were infractions of rules dealt with? By whom? With what effect?

Program as a whole.—How much time per week per member do the present activities of the club take (on the average)? What present problems are facing the club? (Leader? Boys?) Are the activities of the club educative, leading-on, enriching, time-filling, amusing only, demoralizing? (State evidence.)

Often, as part of an observation, a rating scale is used to aid the observer in the expression of his judgment and to make possible the statistical comparison of qualitative judgments. Whether difference of opinion can reliably be indicated by the distance between points on a given line remains extremely doubtful. But the rating scale does provide a shorthand method of recording judgments.

Reference has already been made to the limited and costly use of tests to determine the effect of program upon aspects of personality. They are also of value in a less pretentious way. Social attitudes, general knowledge, and emotional adjustment

can be determined with some reliability by means of standardized tests. The testing of members in this way is an indication, not of what the institution has done for them, but of what they, the members, do or do not need to have done.

Both the questionnaire and the interview are methods of evaluation useful in many ways. Properly prepared and administered they serve as a means of discovering both facts and opinions bearing upon the adequacy of a program as viewed by participants and observers.

In conclusion let me point out that a thorough evaluation of program involves a study of almost every aspect of institutional organization for the simple reason that the program is the commodity for the production of which the whole machinery of organization and equipment exists.

I have tried to indicate both the necessity for program evaluation and its difficulty. It is essential both to efficient practice and planning and to significant research and investigation. I have frankly recognized its present lack of reliability and precision save in relation to very limited areas of research. I have tried to outline the principles and the methods of evaluation which, though crude, none the less splendidly serve to assist the group-work agencies which use them to know better than otherwise they can possibly know the worth and significance of what they have done and the better aim and direction of their future activities.

OBJECTIVES OF THE C.C.C. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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IN COMMENTING on the purpose of the Civilian Conservation Corps in his Congressional message of March, 1933, asking for the establishment of the Corps, President Roosevelt said: "More important, however, than the material gains, will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. . . . We can eliminate, to some extent at least, the threat that enforced idleness brings to moral and spiritual stability." This prophecy has come true many fold. The defeatist attitude of thousands of enrollees has been transformed into one of confidence and hope in the future.

CURRENT YOUTH PROBLEMS

In the development of the C.C.C. educational program the thought has been kept in mind that the Corps should materially contribute to the solution of current youth problems. Whether we, in the field of public service, realize it or not, there still exist among the ranks of American young people conditions which should not be tolerated.

Most of you are undoubtedly familiar with the extent of youth's present maladjustment and needs. Recent figures reveal that there are still about 4,500,000 of them unemployed and out of school. Of this number, 300,000 have reached the point where they aren't looking for work any more. This is a tremendously serious situation. Being out of work for months, even years, reduces the ambitions of many to look for work.

The Federal Department of Justice informs us that for the first nine months of 1935 over 37 per cent of the known arrests

were of persons under twenty-five years of age and that the largest number arrested at any age is of those at nineteen years. The cost of crime in the United States annually is around \$15,000,000,000. Since the number of young participants in crime is roughly about 37 per cent of the total number arrested, one may estimate that youth's part in crime is now costing the country about \$5,000,000,000 annually. This sum would maintain the C.C.C. on its present basis for over fifteen years. The C.C.C. can increasingly serve this country as a formidable device for reducing juvenile delinquency and crime.

School facilities over the land for some time have been overburdened. Enrolments in them have been on a steady increase, and their funds have been inadequate to meet the demands. School curriculums, for the most part, have been too inelastic and outmoded; they have shown insufficient concern for the individual interests, aptitudes, and skills of learners.

Even in the face of our economic system's becoming more complex and technical, the vocational preparation of thousands of young people is being sadly neglected. A recent study of 43,000 persons under twenty-five years of age in Connecticut reveals that over 73 per cent of them are untrained for a skilled occupation, and 40 per cent are unprepared for any kind of work.

All these and other facts, which could be produced here, indicate that there is sufficient reason to be concerned over the conditions of American young people and over attempts to help them in meeting their problems.

More and more is the C.C.C. coming to realize the part that it can play in affording American youth that chance at vocational training and practical experience which they need. Being at the center of the movement within the Corps to conserve human values, the C.C.C. educational program has shaped its objectives to afford enrollees a maximum of opportunity to begin where they are and develop from that point.

C.C.C. EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

On examining the character of C.C.C. education one will find that it has been adjusted to the individual interests, needs, and abilities of those who participate in it. Dealing with persons having varied backgrounds, the C.C.C. school of the woods has had to develop a program flexible enough to fit numerous purposes.

After more than two years of experience we have come to place particular emphasis on certain objectives. In order to indicate to you how we are carrying on our work in the camps I want to mention these objectives at this point. They are (1) to eliminate illiteracy, (2) to remove deficiencies in common school subjects, (3) to provide systematic training on camp and work projects, (4) to provide general vocational training in the camp school or in nearby schools, (5) to provide avocational and recreational activities, (6) to provide cultural and general education opportunities, (7) to provide character and citizenship training, and (8) to assist youth in finding employment.

In the camps there is no prescribed course of study; instruction is shaped to fit the requirements of the learners. There is a range of courses from digging ditches to bridge-building, from planting trees to wood-carving, from soil conservation to agricultural economics, from reading, writing, and arithmetic to science, political economy, and debating.

To my way of thinking this type of education is going to do much to create in American youth a desire for self-improvement, a sense of responsibility, and a consequent development of interest in special subjects. The young man, seeing that he may pursue his own bents, naturally becomes very eager to do a bit of pioneering and is much more likely to be persevering and energetic. His morale is boosted, and he seems to take a new "lease on learning."

COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE

In developing C.C.C. education we have come to value highly counseling and guidance. In fact, the program is molded around

the individual capacities of enrollees; it is not the prescribed program of the adviser or company officials. Participation is voluntary and not mandatory. If the program meets the practical needs of the young men, they will participate; if it does not, they will not attend. The fact that over 71 per cent of the Corps is voluntarily participating in camp instruction demonstrates that enrollees, by and large, see value in it.

Camp advisers begin the first day a new contingent arrives in camp to find out all they can about the individual's past record, home background, training, experiences, skills, and ambitions. They study each man's accomplishments and then carefully help him in developing an educational and vocational plan. The relationship, therefore, becomes one of man to man, or helper to friend. During the month of March, 1936, over 213,000 interviews took place between advisers and enrollees.

Interviews are conducted as informally and in as friendly a manner as possible. During such periods the enrollee feels that he may talk freely, give any necessary information about himself or his experiences, and indicate what he wishes to do in future years. In turn, the adviser attempts to discover the individual's capacities, what lines of work he is best fitted for, and what opportunities for his development seem in prospect for the future. The enrollee's subsequent instruction is shaped in accordance with the facts revealed through these interview periods.

The best kind of guidance is to let young men try their hand at various types of work in which they are interested. C.C.C. camps offer scores of opportunities of this kind. There is no surer way of discovering one's interests and abilities.

LEARNING A TRADE

As revealed in the data which I quoted from the Connecticut survey, there are thousands of young people today who are unequipped to hold a job even if they were offered one. In an effort to train every young man in the camp along some line of work we have developed special vocational courses and instruc-

tion on work projects. Camp youth get a chance to try their skill on such jobs as stone masonry, forestry, terracing, road-building, carpentry, clerical work, project management, and so on. They are continuously trying out different types of work to see for which ones they are best suited. Job-training with us, therefore, is a part of guidance. We believe that "one learns by doing" and that there is no better teacher than practical experience. During last March there were 240,532 men receiving planned instruction on camp jobs of various kinds.

Job training in the C.C.C. is divided into two categories. These are (1) training on various jobs within the camp and (2) training on work projects. Within the camp we have such work as filing, typing, stenography, business management in company headquarters, cooking, mess management, stockkeeping, electric-wiring, repairing, auto mechanics, and landscaping. Out on the work projects more than sixty major classifications of jobs supply the basis for training enrollees in specific skills. These major jobs may be further broken down into more than three hundred minor ones for training purposes.

There are thousands of men in camp, however, who wish more specialized training than the work projects can afford them. Thus, vocational courses are being promoted in the Corps; in addition, enrollees are transported to nearby schools and colleges where there is further equipment for such instruction. Advanced training is available to enrollees in such subjects as mechanical arts, forestry, radio-servicing, poultry-raising, surveying, and so on. Emphasis is also being put on agricultural courses. Vocational training in the C.C.C. has expanded rapidly during the past year. At the present time over 50 per cent of all C.C.C. courses are vocational.

Reaching out beyond the camp and its daily jobs, our advisers have attempted to open up opportunities in neighboring towns and villages which will furnish C.C.C. learners with special training in trades or business. Many community enterprises have generously placed their facilities at the disposal of local companies, thereby greatly assisting them. I recall at this mo-

ment the instance of an auto mechanic in Massachusetts who is helping a class of enrollees gain some firsthand experience in auto mechanics, and of the case of ten business firms in a Missouri village who are offering 270 enrollees practical training in shoe-repairing, store management, dry-cleaning, poultry-raising, and auto repairing.

AVOCATIONAL AND CULTURAL TRAINING

Constructive use of leisure time is receiving increased interest in the C.C.C. educational program. Most of the enrollees come from backgrounds where there is a dearth of leisure-time activities. These youngsters, before entering the C.C.C., became too accustomed to passing idle hours in pool rooms, dance halls, or on street corners. Without regular employment they grew lax and unconcerned over the proper use of their time. Naturally, their morale and outlook on life became dulled. In the camp a concerted attempt is being made to develop the interest of each enrollee in some avocational as well as vocational activity. Camp advisers testify that if they can get the men to take part in arts and crafts, dramatics, music, athletics, or sports during their spare moments, such activities almost always lead to participation in academic and vocational subjects.

The adviser begins with whatever interest or aptitude the enrollee manifests, and develops this accordingly. Many young men have discovered their vocational aptitudes through hobby interests. Through arts and crafts, dramatics, music, debating, and literary clubs many C.C.C. members are discovering new channels of expression. They have discovered that they can do things; this sense of achievement is the beginning of many other interests and forms of expression. Most camps are alive with attractive, worth-while things to do. The number of avocational activities increased from 4,221 in March, 1935, to 6,981 in March, 1936, and approximately one hundred thousand men are now participating in such activities regularly.

Special courses in citizenship have been drawn up in prac-

tically every camp to familiarize the youngster with his duties as a citizen, and the camp is pictured to him as a community with many enterprises and activities resembling those of a regular town or village. Enrollees are encouraged to take an active part in the life of the camp community by forming advisory councils to assist in the running of local affairs. A number of companies have enrollee mayors and enrollee city councilmen.

HELPING THE ENROLLEE ENTER LIFE'S ACTIVITIES

The problem of helping youth bridge the gap between training and employment is of real concern to C.C.C. authorities. After young people have been prepared for work, they certainly need some form of activity through which to express and develop their capacities further. If youth can't express itself through normal channels, then it will turn to antisocial pursuits such as crime, racketeering, and moral degeneracy.

Advisers have laid plans to aid the enrollee in every way possible to find the right sort of opening after he leaves the C.C.C. Advisers early attempt to coach enrollees on points of a successful job interview with a prospective employer. In some of the Corps areas a special course is being taught on "job-getting," and an attempt is made to supplement such work by securing the assistance of business and professional leaders in staging job interviews for C.C.C. men.

Advisers, through their record system, are keeping an accurate check on the youth's camp development and the types of work for which he seems to be best suited. The enrollee, upon his discharge from camp, is given a copy of his record, together with letters from the camp authorities, and is instructed in how to contact employment agencies and present them with his credentials. Before leaving camp, C.C.C. youth are encouraged to write letters to prospective employers back in their hometown community to determine if work is available. Advisers also write to business establishments and private enterprises seeking openings for their men.

To assist in the work of satisfactorily adjusting enrollees to

community conditions and in helping them locate work, advisers in several Corps areas have fostered the formation of community guidance and placement councils for former enrollees. In Buffalo, New York, C.C.C. authorities in co-operation with N.Y.A. and local officers have worked out a plan to reach over four thousand former enrollees with further counseling and guidance. In Boston a placement agency has been initiated for C.C.C. men and has already helped several hundred of them to find work. In the Fifth Corps area, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, the Corps area adviser has organized follow-up agencies for C.C.C. men in eleven counties of Ohio, in seven of Indiana, in eight of Kentucky, and in ten of West Virginia.

Efforts to help C.C.C. men find the necessary openings are undoubtedly receiving encouraging results. C.C.C. officers are deeply gratified over a recent report from Director Fechner's office indicating that 134,056 men left the Corps during the year 1935 to accept employment. A large industrial concern in New York State announced a short time ago that it preferred to employ C.C.C. men because of their practical training, and willingness to work.

THE FUTURE OF THE C.C.C.

In conclusion, may I say that we in C.C.C. education believe that there is a great future for the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps among American youth. Providing as it does a combined program of training and work designed to meet individual needs and affording an opportunity at practical experience, the Corps should become an integral part of the educational system of the country. It can serve to aid materially our public schools and colleges by broadening the type of training offered youth and by supplying them work experience.

C.C.C. can go a long way toward taking any kind of youngster and helping him find himself. Whether he be a misfit in school, a bright student wishing practical experience, or an unemployed youth, there is room for every type in the Corps. An extension of the services of the C.C.C. will go a long way toward

easing the tense out-of-school and out-of-work situation of American youth and toward affording them useful experiences. In any long-term plans for solving the problems of young people I believe that the C.C.C. must play a strong part.

Having come through three years of testing, the Corps now awaits further use as an on-going part of this country's conservation program. I therefore invite the co-operation of all social workers in efforts to develop the Civilian Conservation Corps on a long-term basis and to promote in it improved services for conserving the resources of young America.

PLACE OF PRIVATE GROUP-WORK AGENCY IN PROGRAM OF YOUTH

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THEORETICAL distinctions between the functions of public and private agencies in any field are easy to make but difficult in the light of experience to uphold. We pose our question, therefore, in a temporary and pragmatic form. What distinctive functions can private social-work agencies perform in the program for and of youth that other agencies are not so likely to perform, are not so well equipped to perform, or are not performing on a wide-enough scale now nor give promise of so doing in the immediate future in the United States of America? Note that the question is not posed in terms of superior or inferior; for the social values of the distinctive functions of these agencies are not inherent in the public or private character of the agency which performs them.

Despite these familiar disclaimers of dogmatism, my first point is a dogmatic one. It is socially valuable, I believe, in this period of the world's history to conduct group work among young people under a variety of auspices, to contribute a variety of social emphases to a total program among young people, to carry on frankly recognized cultural heritages from the immensely varied cultural heritages of America. This variety can be insured only by the existence of private agencies either of the social-work or of the self-directing type, and at present the private social-work agency seems to be a necessary partner in this task.

Take, for examples, the Jewish Community Center movement and Pioneer Youth. The first is a medium for the transmission, partly through group work among young Jewish peo-

ple, of a cultural heritage without conscious recognition of which American life would be the poorer. The second is an educational force for the development, through group work among children, of attitudes and activities that relate them consciously to the interests and struggle of labor. The promotion of such social objectives, at variance as they are with the dominant mood of American life, is to my mind socially valuable. The promotion of uncritical narrow loyalties by sectarian agencies, however, is not necessarily upheld even on the theory I have advanced of the social value of group work through agencies representing a variety of social aims. The whole concept of social planning, of the development of a sense of community, is opposed to an uncritical acceptance of a *mêlée* of sects without standards and without goal beyond their own survival. It is incumbent upon private group-work agencies to impose upon themselves certain conditions both as to method and as to objective if they are to be considered parts of a total concept—much less of a plan—of group work among young people.

My first point, then, of the social value of group work being carried on in part by a variety of private social agencies is dependent upon those agencies meeting certain conditions. Those conditions I should name as:

1. Major responsibility for development, in collaboration with schools of social work and with progressive education agencies, of techniques of group work.

2. Responsibility for working out among themselves and in collaboration with public and self-directed organizations for group work certain broad social objectives within the framework of which the narrower or more intensive objectives of the private agencies may find their correctives and work out fields of common effort. One can assume a large measure of agreement among leaders in the field on the following values expressed in broad terms: (*a*) the development of individual initiative and capacity for group action; (*b*) the development of skills and of capacity for appreciation; and (*c*) the development in the individual and in the group of social responsibility.

If, then, private agencies carry these responsibilities for the development of techniques and for a share in the development of broad social objectives as a condition of their right to contribute their varying methods and philosophies to any considered plan of group work, what, if any, opportunities ought they be particularly (not exclusively) equipped to offer within this general framework, at this period in the development of group work and the social scene?

I suggest four, all of which, I believe, meet the test proposed by Miss Coyle in her paper last year: "In a period like the present, every human activity must test itself by its contribution to the vital changes that are remaking our society." These opportunities are tinged inevitably, nevertheless, with my own sense of values:

1. Opportunity for experience in democratic control not only within the group but within the greater complexity of the institution as a whole or of parts of the institution beyond the confines of the immediate group. Ability to participate in democratic processes and to carry real responsibility in a democratic society is not any more a native endowment than is, for example, wise parenthood. There need to be discovered, therefore, more opportunities for young people to experiment, to gain experience, to learn by doing in a setting conducive to education. Certainly private agencies should offer some of those opportunities—limited as they are, in most cases, to manageable size, and yet realistically situated as they are in this necessity that they be operated and supported. The provision for this opportunity presents risks to boards of directors which they will not be too slow in pointing out. It presents to young people a long, sometimes wearisome task which some leaders of group work will find too difficult. Yet enough of it is going on to indicate that such experience in group-work agencies is possible.

2. Success in offering the first opportunity mentioned is dependent upon the carrying-out of a second and more generally recognized function of the private agency: the adjustment of

personality and development of leadership through the small, intimate group in a controlled environment, a group in which persons, not subjects or activities, are the focus. Perhaps this is to say that it is one of the specific obligations of a private social group-work agency to do genuine group work, not merely to offer a collection of group activities. "It is our concern," wrote a leader in a private group-work agency, "to help the individual to find herself as she relates herself to others through a group process." So many fundamental satisfactions in life are determined by our adjustment to one group or another that we need to have helpful, purposeful experiences in doing it as we grow toward maturity. I believe that out of satisfactory experiences in an integrated group, such as our private agencies provide for, youth is better able to face the demands of group life in other situations.

Let me illustrate the first and second points with brief pictures of groups at different levels of group experience:

The first is a club of grade-school children drawn largely, though not exclusively, from problem families—relief or otherwise. The situation of each child has been studied jointly by the visiting teacher or visitor of the Family Welfare Society and the secretary of the younger girls' department of the Y.W.C.A. Activities range from puzzles to folk dancing, but there is a core of self-directing program through varied and informal devices of officers, planning groups, etc. (not a hard and fast committee system). While volunteers help the children carry out their program, each child is watched by the professional group worker, attitudes noted, progress problems recorded. Periodically the records are studied and the program adopted to the children's problems or growing capacities.

Another is a council of industrial clubs in a local agency. A group of colored and white girls from a nearby plant asked to use the swimming pool and were told that the agency hadn't yet reached that stage, but they would be welcome to come for other activities. They came in and brought their problem to the council. That council brought the problem before an interracial

committee on which girls from club groups served, and through that committee a recommendation was made to the board for an interracial policy that would include the swimming pool. On the board was at least one girl who could speak firsthand for the desire of her group. This story ends well, and suggests the third opportunity I would mention.

3. The third opportunity I suggest for private agencies to furnish to young people is the experience in a controlled environment of knowing and working or playing with people of different racial or cultural backgrounds. Negro and white children, Italian and native-born are thrown together, to be sure, in the public school; they are thrown together in the competition for jobs or in the public playground; and the results may or may not make for mutual understanding and respect. When they are thrown together in the settlement or in the Y.M.C.A. it can and should be done under conditions deliberately set to make for mutual understanding and respect. Sometimes this may mean a slower process of contact than the public agencies provide; more often it will mean a more rapid but also more carefully planned process. Nor is the agency representing a distinctive racial or cultural group unequipped to do this service. In fact, it is in a position to make a valuable and unique contribution, if it is so related to other agencies as to work out joint projects among young people. The importance of this in a world of increasing hatreds among races and nations is still accepted, in theory at least, in the United States of America.

Having made this claim to a particular opportunity for the private social agency, one must admit in all humility that often, while the leaders of a private agency are waiting for the right moment and the right occasion to bring together, for example, colored and white young people, the League versus War and Fascism or the Youth Congress captures and welds them together in the flame of a common cause.

4. Closely related to the third point is the fourth one—that the private agency can offer opportunity for controlled experi-

ments in social action. Those young people who first created the Youth Congress with its vigorous program of social action—how did they “get that way”? I pose the question as a profitable one for a thesis, and meanwhile hazard the guess that some of them came through the door of better personal experience that somehow stimulated rather than stultified their imaginations, some through other self-directed activities, and some through social agencies which had stimulated them to social awareness and given them some experience in social action. At any rate, in most private social agencies are groups of boys and girls victimized by our economic maladjustments. Are these agencies going to allow these young people’s wrongs to remain private—to be exorcised by gymnasium or pottery-making—or are they, with the aid of the best skill that physical education and art can provide, going to help their young people to see private wrongs as public issues, to be remedied in part as their own experience, their capacity for study, their powers of united action can play upon them? The magnificent dramatization of youth’s wrongs and youth’s remedy in the “Youth Act” illustrates to my mind both the unique contribution of completely self-directing youth groups and the need of the young people in those groups for more of the technical training in legislative and other forms of social action which the complexity of modern society necessitates. The private agency should help supply that need.

Although these objectives are stated primarily in terms of social attitudes and action, they do not ignore the development of individual skills and appreciations, mentioned earlier in the paper as among the generally accepted objectives of group work. Personal and social development cannot be separated in any such artificial fashion. The carrying out of such objectives requires, moreover, the use among young people of the media of the arts, of ceremonial, and of all the folkways by which through the ages groups of people have expressed their communal ideals. It does not imply the substitution of the class, the textbook, and the legislative chamber for the campfire, the dance, and the song. But it does imply a social orientation of

our wealth of skill and beauty lest these become for eager young people an escape rather than a fulfilment.

Such functions place upon the directorship of private agencies claiming to do group work among young people two distinctive obligations. The first of these is obviously the provision of expert, professional leadership. The connotation of those terms for the group-work field it is not the business of this paper to describe beyond the hints already given in the outline of the tasks to be done. It may be pointed out, however, that it has often proved more difficult to release money for trained leadership than for buildings and equipment, despite the fact that many community leaders are wisely laying emphasis upon leadership rather than upon bricks and mortar. The latter may more and more, it would seem be supplied by public funds.

The second implication for the directorship of private agencies is the need for the clarification of the objectives of the controlling group itself. What do these adults envisage as the goals of the group work among young people that their time and experience and money have helped make possible? Is it solely the transmission of a heritage dear to them? That has its place, but in a world changing and needing change that is not enough. Are they willing that young people should develop initiative and critical-mindedness, that they should share responsibility for the policies of the agency itself, that they be exposed to vital issues, that they find through the agency "an opportunity to exercise mind, heart, and ambition to things that matter most of all to us"? And do they conceive of their agencies not as in themselves the first objects of the loyalty of themselves and their young people, but as distinctive channels between their constituency and the larger world outside?

The claim of the private agencies to a place in the sun is not based on an abstract virtue of being "private" but upon the way they use the opportunities which their leadership and their money make possible for young people to have group experiences which, however distinctive of the agency which gave them birth, meet the tests of social value in a changing society.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING STATE WELFARE ADMINISTRATIONS IN ACCEPTING GRANTS-IN-AID

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PROBLEMS of administration, like problems of the individual, are better understood and more effectively dealt with if we look for origins and causal relationships. For that reason I should like to attempt in this paper to analyze the problems confronting state welfare administration, less from the angle of what they are and more from the angle of the circumstances which give rise to them. It seems to me that all too often in public administration we have been forced to solve problems in the haste and pressure of an emergency. We have had little time to examine them in their total historic and social setting. Often when we thought we were solving them, we were only making ten perplexities grow where but one grew before.

I am particularly concerned about the problems which arise from the attitudes which exist interchangeably between federal, state, and local units. I believe that the importance of understanding these attitudes cannot be too greatly emphasized. Many of our problems in the state administration, caught midway between the two—federal and local—can be traced directly to them.

I believe our experience in the state of Maryland in the recent special session of the legislature is universal enough to warrant analysis in an effort to throw some light on this problem. Prior to the legislative session a state-wide commission, appointed to outline a program and policy for public assistance, made a study of our own situation and prepared a report to the legislature.

In this report, in the oral discussions which accompanied it, and in the State House throughout the period of the session the attitudes to which I refer were repeated over and over again. Summarized, they are as follows:

1. Local control and home rule are the most desirable guiding principle. Only by centralizing authority in those closest to the problem can the necessary degree of economy be achieved. Remote control sets up unnatural standards, stimulates demand far beyond need, increases the cost to the point where it is a threat to the taxpayers' security.
2. Federal control is an invasion of state's rights. It leads to the setting up of bureaucratic federal agencies. It is false to assume that there exists a federal grant in the nature of a gift to the states, because the federal government is but a collection agency for money which come from the citizens of the states and is turned back to them. It is not even turned back to them in proportion to the amount which they pay in. What portion of it does come back to them comes with conditions and bargains—conditions which are frequently antagonistic to the best interests of the state.
3. Even state control should be at an absolute minimum. (This third point may be less applicable to states used to state administration, but is a serious problem in states, like Maryland, steeped in a philosophy of local self-government.) It makes little difference that the federal government itself does not dictate when it requires that a single state agency shall be put in a position of strategic supervision of local activities.

The foregoing three points illustrate the attitudes prevalent in states to which I refer. They constitute the background within which the state welfare administration must operate. The problems arising from these attitudes are readily discernible.

The first serious problem is a resistance to any financial support of the program. The real needs of the citizens of the state, the overwhelming evidence of destitution, are lost sight of in the traditional reaction against being told what to do. This despite the fact that the officials of the Social Security Board have been careful to emphasize the permissive nature of the Act, and the need for voluntary submission of a plan prior to any activity on the part of the federal agency.

Another serious problem which we trace to the same source is the negative approach to good standards of administration—

good standards of personnel, adequate relief, adequate administrative costs. An unfortunate by-product is the tendency to identify the state administration, which seeks good standards, with what is regarded as the domination of an unfriendly federal agency.

I speak thus frankly because I am so firmly convinced that until we reach a proper understanding of these attitudes, we threaten the whole fundamental principle in which we all so firmly believe, namely, joint federal, state, and local participation in the solution of the major social problems of today. I believe the solution lies in being able to demonstrate on a factual basis that the objectives of the federal agency, in all grants-in-aid programs, are identical with the objectives of the state, and the objectives of the state identical with the local unit; and that our best method of approach is to create a desire for good performance in the localities which are served. Too often we in the states are guilty of falling back upon the argument, "It is a requirement of the federal law" or "a requirement of the federal agency," instead of choosing the far more difficult and far more laborious approach of demonstrating the value of our own policies for the people whom we serve.

I shall not attempt here to present the arguments which so effectively can be set forth for federal participation in programs for the social welfare. They are familiar to all of us: the soundness of the principle of equalization, the fundamental concept so effectively stated by Miss Abbott, that the sources of revenue should be as broad as the causes of need. Nor shall I defend the need for federal leadership in stimulating good performance. I point my arguments to one major thesis, namely, that these attitudes exist, that their roots are far deeper than the earliest grants-in-aid, and that it behooves us to examine our own methods of achieving our results in the states, lest we lean too heavily on a higher authority to back us up in the arguments which we are either too weak or too reluctant to fight for. I make the further point that the standards of good performance which we strive for have intrinsic merit within themselves and

will stand not because the federal government requires them or the state agency imposes them, but because they serve best all citizens, no matter what their station in life.

I am thinking particularly of the mechanism of policy formation. The criticism is frequently made, within the circle and out, that policies, rules, and regulations are born within the isolated walls of a federal office. I can fully appreciate the need frequently for speed, for precision. I can also see the values which would accrue from a process of policy formation which would seek experience and consultation not only from state officials, but also from local officials. We in the state office in Maryland have used this technique with very effective results. We have actually used groups of local officials to recommend initial policies.

I am inclined to think also that there is much exploration to be done in the area of federal supervision of state activities. Administrative review is necessary but sterile unless accompanied by a service of consultation which renders to the states what they themselves cannot purchase, or what can conceivably be a degree of specialization and expertness in one field which the states cannot, or should not, attempt to provide for themselves. I plead for a new and enlarged concept of the service not the dictation, which a federal agency can render to the states.

This brings me rather naturally to a consideration of the organization problems confronting state welfare administrations, because I am not unmindful as I make these statements that they have equal merit in considering the relation of the state to the local unit. The extensive exchange of correspondence which has been going on between states these last few months bears witness to the fact that we are all grappling with common problems in this regard. Are a single, co-ordinated state department and a co-ordinated local public unit more desirable than separate commissions for the blind, the aged, the dependent children? If we organize a unified program, how should the state office be organized? What type of personnel do we need in the state office? What type of service do we render to the local unit?

We in Maryland are firmly convinced that the co-ordinated unit is not only the best, but eventually the only solution, argue it from any standpoint that you wish, be it the client, the taxpayer, the Commission on Economy and Efficiency in Government. But once having set up the co-ordinated program, the problems are not by any means solved. As a matter of fact, some problems are amplified for the moment, and I hope only temporarily, because of the effort to combine all programs under one roof.

The Social Security Act, by its present form, creates some of these problems for us. The advocates of categorical relief have many arguments of merit on their side, particularly within the province of the greater ease of securing funds and establishing need. Legislators think in terms of handicaps. They resent, out of their pioneer, individualistic attitudes, continued and permanent assistance to able-bodied persons. There is no better proof of this than the greater ease with which it has been possible to get a higher grant for an aged person receiving old age assistance than for the whole family on emergency relief.

The Social Security Act has set the tenor of the state programs, and I know of no exception to the fact that states, following suit, have set up categories. One of the first serious administrative problems is the lack of coverage for the individual and family which does not happen to have the particular handicaps covered in the Act. Another administrative difficulty, arising from the nature of the Act and from the manner in which states have copied it, is that concerned with the variation in financing. In Maryland we have seventeen different sources of funds for the support of the county welfare board program—federal, state, and local. The purposes for which these funds can be used overlap, but no two are identical in their possibilities. Some expenditures are, as you know, re-imbursable by one-half, some by one-third. Certain expenditures must be deducted before any claim for reimbursement is made, such as payment for medical care outside the regular grant. Some reimbursement is so obscure as to its eventual total amount, such as the 5 per cent over and above toward administrative cost, that advance bud-

getting and planning are almost an impossibility. We are lost in a maze of financial support. We are forced into hand-to-mouth living and uneconomical administration because federal and state funds become frozen in the state treasury, in our state at least, and the counties find it impossible to provide the wherewithal to finance themselves until they can claim reimbursement.

Another problem peculiar to the administration of public assistance on a co-ordinated basis is the difficulty of apportioning administrative costs. Certainly we cannot be misled into a further maze of attempting to keep account of every telephone call and every mileage account incurred against the respective categories. Where local units are carrying undifferentiated case loads, this is an impossibility. It is clear that we need much exploration in this area.

Before closing this discussion of the problems which arise because of the manner in which the present Act is written, I cannot overlook the mandatory requirement that the plan must be in effect in all political subdivisions of the state. This is essential, of course, and I do not question its wisdom. I have witnessed, however, as I am sure many of you have also, the administrative complexities which conformity with this requirement are producing. Many states must have, as we have in Maryland, included in their state laws provision for local financial participation. Since the Acts are mandatory, the local levy is mandatory. What happens when one local unit, and let us hope it won't be more than that, holds out against you and refuses to provide the necessary local funds?

Mandamus proceedings are hardly an auspicious atmosphere in which to begin a social-security program. The local appropriations which we might otherwise have spent years securing are ordered overnight. I do not know the answer. I only see a tremendous conflict between our efforts to interpret the program and foster local conviction regarding the value of what we are proposing, and the requirements of state and federal legislation.

Where the permanent public welfare department emerges, as

was true in Maryland, from the nucleus of the emergency relief program, there are many necessary adjustments to be made. We became accustomed to freedom of action (born of emergency and justified on the basis of emergency) which cannot be a continuing part of an ordinary department of government. The existence of the public welfare structure depends in large measure upon the degree to which it is assimilated and becomes accepted by its companion departments in state and local governments.

Perhaps more important than anything else are integrity of administration and the employment of qualified personnel. We ought never permit ourselves to forget that a public welfare program is only as good or as bad as the personnel intrusted with its administration. The time has now definitely come when we are going to be judged on the basis of our professional performance, and rightly so. The immediate task ahead of us is to recruit qualified workers in the local and state governmental units to administer developing public welfare programs.

I would also repeat what has become axiomatic in the last few years, namely, that we need a new and broadened training and discipline for the persons who are to assume positions of leadership in this new public program. Study and analyze the content of the daily job of the state public welfare program today. Its problems are not those of social work alone. They are intrinsically bound up with problems of taxation, of government finance, of large-scale administration, of civil service. They call for facility in the law, for knowledge of the ways and temperament of lawmakers. They call for a new alignment of forces between social workers and those who can bring these skills to the new administration. And above all, it is necessary that social workers see the challenge of these newer combinations, and not regard them as intrusions and handicaps. The basic philosophy of social case work must find and accept new vehicles of expression. The administration of public welfare must be dynamic, growing flexible and experimental, if it is to serve effectively the people of the nation.

THE PART OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUE IN SOCIAL PLANNING

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IN A recent number of *Esquire* appeared a picture. The scene is a burning building surrounded with firemen working frantically to check the flames. Up steps a well-dressed young woman who hands her visiting card to one of the firemen and says: "I am the President of the Junior League; perhaps there's something I can do!"

There is plenty of truth in the joke—but also, as in all cartoons, plenty of exaggeration. I really think it would be unfortunate if the public retained permanently this impression of Junior League participation in civic affairs. Even if the impression has been confirmed by some concrete, unhappy experience of our own in the past, we should keep ourselves alert to the potentialities in this group as regards sharing in community betterment. You know the saying, "Being prejudiced is being down on something you aren't up on." So before we dismiss Junior League effort as amateur, ineffectual, or, still worse, officious, let's get ourselves up to date on the kind of thing it is really doing.

First, let us admit that 142 Leagues in 142 different cities with a membership of nearly twenty-nine thousand young women will show the widest variability; they will vary not only from group to group, but also within each group from year to year under changing leadership. One of the great strengths of the League is the uniform rule that the members retire from voting participation at the age of forty, which insures the active ad-

ministration of each League by a constantly renewed membership of young women. But this regulation also entails a weakness, for occasionally the whole outlook of a League may change within a short period owing to a changed point of view in the new administration. Then, instead of a so-called "informed lay group" interested in providing expert volunteer service and in contributing vitally to a program of community planning, you may find suddenly to your amazement that the level of thinking in the League has dropped back to the old Lady Bountiful sort of service, or to the desire to undertake a project "all its own"—"The Junior League Home for Incurable Poodles" or something of the sort.

Fortunately this return to mid-Victorian standards is the extreme case. And even in this extreme case there is one quality which persists and which is, after all, the greatest power latent in the organization—and that is the genuine desire to serve. As a visiting nurse said not long ago, "Malnutrition is better than none"; in the same way, wanting to help others however sentimentally is certainly better than not being interested in them at all. As a contrast we often find a League that has established its work on so firm a basis that no change in administration can affect its mature and continuing contribution to the community—the type of service that actually does sometimes prevent the fire. Size seems to have nothing to do with the quality of service rendered; in fact, a small League in a small city can often accomplish more toward social planning than one in a large city where the work is widely diversified. As usual, it is not so much the size of the dog in the fight as it is the size of the fight in the dog.

Even admitting certain limitations, therefore, I feel that people who are working toward community-wide planning for social welfare should not underestimate the potentialities in the Junior League of their city. There are certain assets common to practically all Junior League members which are a tremendous source of power for any program, if only they can be wisely utilized.

In the first place, most Junior League members display that fundamental willingness to serve of which I spoke. This quality is instilled into them from the time they join; it is the purpose of the organization itself as expressed in the by-laws—"to foster interest among its members in the social, economic, educational, cultural, and civic conditions of their community, and to make efficient their volunteer service."

Then, too, most of them possess the enthusiasm of youth. By the time Junior League members have become disillusioned about what you can't do in this world, they have graduated from the active councils, and there are always neophytes eager to take up the torch. They are blessed with a slightly better than average education. They possess, in general, another extremely valuable commodity—leisure time. They have an incredible flair for raising money. They have natural contacts with other groups and individuals who are necessary to the successful carrying-out of a program. Some League members have invaluable political connections; almost all are related to or at least acquainted with the civic leaders. They know the manufacturers, the doctors, the lawyers, the merchants, the club-women, the ministers. They also have acquired firsthand knowledge in many different fields of social work through their volunteer service. Each member may know one agency only, but the composite picture gives to the League as a whole a true representation of community services and community needs.

Lastly, they can command the resources of a finely organized, highly trained national staff. Any League, however small, can secure for any problem, however local, expert, impartial analysis and advice from the national office through its field workers. They in turn have access to the national offices of many other agencies as well as to specialists in various fields.

Any community where there is a Junior League has thus available a considerable array of resources to be developed. How can this be done? Sometimes merely a suggestion from the social workers in the city to the right kind of leader starts the ball rolling. Sometimes the League members themselves realize

the need for some community service and initiate the whole undertaking. Often the national field workers, seeing the community picture as a whole, disinterestedly urge action upon the League and suggest procedure. The only method, so far as I know, which is doomed inevitably to failure is the Santa Claus approach. No League will tolerate being treated as merely a pocketbook. Therefore, any undertaking which is to utilize the hidden resources of a League must also offer to the League members a share in its development. The very process of sharing deepens their interest, strengthens their enthusiasm, turns them into staunch champions of the cause.

Let us look at the different ways by which Junior Leagues have co-operated in social planning recently. First, I should mention the simplest and most frequent sort of participation, which consists in a League's membership in the local Council of Social Agencies. The value of participation of this kind depends, of course, on the quality of the professional leadership in the council, and also on the type of Junior League members who happen to be the representatives serving on the council. In any case there is certainly some advantage in the presentation of the League point of view which is naturally different in many respects from that of the other organizations. At its best this relationship can be of great importance to the League and to the whole program of social work.

A second example of Junior League participation in social planning is a recent project carried on by a southern League. The Community Chest in the city had been disbanded. The public welfare department was not functioning properly. Certain Junior League members, becoming disturbed at conditions, were instrumental in establishing a Council of Social Agencies. Through the operation of the council the need for a community reorganization became apparent. The League agreed to finance a thorough study of the situation, intending at first to handle the details. But a wiser decision turned the undertaking over to a citizens' advisory committee appointed by the city council. The survey was made, costing the League approximately \$800.

Two recommendations were carried to the proper authorities. The result has been the reorganization of the Community Fund, and the passage of an ordinance by the city council establishing a well-planned municipal department of public welfare. That was a sound piece of community planning made possible entirely by a Junior League.

A third example of League participation was a project sponsored in a Pennsylvania city. The welfare committee of the League, while studying the local program to determine where volunteer service was most needed, began to realize that the chief weakness in the social-work structure was that quite usual one—lack of co-ordination. There was no professional Chest leadership; there was an ineffectual Council of Social Agencies; there was insufficient definition of function; there was no community planning; there was very little contact between the public and the private fields of social welfare; there was not even strong co-operation between the agencies in the same field.

The League, therefore, offered to the Community Chest Board the sum of \$350, supplementing a grant from National Community chests and councils, to finance a survey of the whole program. Twenty League members formed the liaison between the five members of the survey staff and the League, and between the staff and the community. A general survey committee was appointed, representing agency boards, professional social workers, and the contributing public. A smaller executive committee met frequently with the staff for discussion. The survey was conducted in an informal way, since its purpose was not detailed fact-finding but a practical working analysis. After the individual research of each member of the staff had been completed, the entire group met in conference to correlate their findings. A meeting was also held with representatives of five national recreational organizations, to give still broader scope to the study.

After the survey was finished, the League continued to work for the carrying-out of the recommendations contained in it. As a result, the Community Chest Board has employed a

trained executive director; the constitution has been revised; women are now included on its board of directors; the budget committee has been greatly enlarged and considers agency budgets with real thoroughness; two Chest agencies have been reorganized; and eight Chest agencies have been housed in a central building with resultant decrease in expense and increase in co-operation.

Two other extremely important recommendations of the survey were the establishment of an agency for family case work and a plan for qualified social service for children's work, including a program of child-placing in private family homes. The League was particularly interested in the latter, and has made possible the fulfilment of this recommendation by contributing \$1,000 a year for two years toward the salary of the executive of such an agency. The new child-parent bureau has been in operation now for two months. In addition to giving financial support, the League expects to co-operate by offering volunteer service and by interpreting the agency's function to the general public. Looking well ahead, it hopes also that the success of this children's agency will make possible the extension of case-work service in some form to the family field.

Last, out of the survey came a planning committee which takes the place of the old and decrepit Council of Social Agencies. It includes the executives of all social-work organizations in the city, representatives from the agency boards, and other individuals whose work is closely connected with the program, such as the director of the public library, the superintendent of schools, etc. This committee meets weekly. It has taken up the study of the community picture where the survey staff ended and, after making detailed reports, including costs, in each field, is now about to work out various experiments in planning and co-ordination.

Thus far we have been looking at this topic more or less from the point of view of the fireman. Just what can the lady do? The members' first step should be to study the whole field, in consultation with many different people. In choosing their proj-

ect they should regard it as purely a demonstration of some function which should be the responsibility of an existing body but is not now being covered, with the idea of maintaining it until it has proved its worth, then turning it over to the proper agency.

Because of their good fortune in possessing many assets, they should always attempt the difficult job. Newspapers can raise money to buy crutches for little crippled children; Junior Leagues should raise it for less appealing but even more important needs, which often require a campaign of public education before they are understood. Or their undertaking may require no funds at all, simply interpretation or organization.

Instead of a job that is remedial, such as a diabetic clinic, they should prefer one which is truly constructive, such as helping co-ordinate and expand the health activities in a city. And the ideal piece of work is the one that has infinite possibilities for growth, such as the establishment of a Council of Social Agencies, or a city-wide recreation program. Of course, they should always choose something which will hold the interest and attract the volunteer service of their members. Finally, they should recognize their own limitations of training and experience, attempt only the task for which they are reasonably fitted, and leave fire-fighting to the firemen.

The interesting part about this social-planning business is that it is never finished. As depressions hit us, or governmental policies change, or psychiatrists show us new ways of handling people, our whole alignment of social-work forces has to be re-adjusted. I believe that Junior Leagues everywhere, because of their qualifications and because of their increasing interest in constructive effort, will continue to play a real part in such social planning.

RELIEF, STYLE 1936

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THE present federal program consists of two measures intended to supplement each other: (1) a works program to provide a "security wage" for the three and a half million employable persons, which is assumed to be the total number of such employables on relief; (2) a social-security program which is intended to help the states care for certain classes of unemployables in need of relief.

Let us examine the original proposal for W.P.A. and the changes it has since undergone:

1. The potential workers in 3,500,000 families receiving relief in May, 1935, were to be certified by the S.E.R.A.'s as employable under W.P.A. This was done, and 4,885,000 persons were so certified, comprising 3,250,000 families, by December 1, 1935.

2. One person from each of these families was to be assigned to work, the date of completion of transfer from relief to work having been advanced from time to time. November 1 was the latest deadline. Meanwhile, however, the goal of three and a half million new jobs was reduced by the inclusion, in all reports from Washington for total employment, of C.C.C. enrolment as part of the W.P.A. total. These are for the most part, of course, replacements in a previously existing program, and do not represent fresh jobs created under the new program. Apparently, however, the goal of three and a half million families taken off relief was regarded as reached when, on February 15, 1936, 500,000 people, more or less, continued to hold down jobs in the C.C.C. camps and 3,017,000 were employed under W.P.A.

3. In the original regulations 90 per cent of the workers were to be certified as coming from relief rolls, but successive administrative orders relaxed this rule on different classes of projects, notably those involving building and electrical operations. Of the 3,017,000 on W.P.A. on February 15, probably from 10 to 12½ per cent were on the non-relief pay-roll, bringing the total removed from direct relief rolls down to around 2,700,000 or only slightly more than two and a half million who were being employed under the old emergency work program at its peak in January a year ago.

4. The "security wage" set up for four categories and five areas was originally to apply to all except the 10 per cent non-relief workers. Roughly speaking, the security wage provided an income greater than the old budgetary deficiency plan for workers with no dependents or not more than three. Workers with more dependents were progressively worse off in comparison with their previous relief status as the number of those dependents exceeded four. With this in mind, many E.R.A.'s certified their single people and small families first, keeping larger families on the more adequate relief basis as long as possible—a curious commentary on the new program.

Changes in the actual wage paid have been brought about, however, by several devices: (a) the boundaries of "regions"—groups of states with the same basic scale—have been re-defined to transfer certain states to the region with the next highest pay scale—e.g., North Dakota, originally in Region II, is now listed in Region I; (b) certain classes of skilled workers on all projects (both relief and non-relief lists) have been exempted from regional scales, and are to be paid the rates customary in their areas; (c) all workers on some projects, chiefly the so-called federal projects (e.g., P.W.A., housing, rural electrification) have been exempted and paid the going wage rate; (d) instead of increasing the monthly wage, the hourly rate has been increased by decreasing the number of hours' labor required in some instances.

The ruling has also been made that surplus commodities, in-

cluding clothing made in W.P.A. sewing-rooms, may be issued to families on W.P.A. if this is done on a case-work basis. And yet it is maintained that W.P.A. is "not a relief program"!

5. Even with these liberalizations in assignment and wages the problem of large families on the security wage remained; and further regulations were issued permitting the assignment of a second member of such families, first to C.C.C., then to work programs under N.Y.A. as these became available. Both these programs paid fixed wages lower than the W.P.A.'s security wage. This in no way solved, however, the problem of large families with no second member able to work, since there has been no relaxation in the rule that federal relief funds may not be used to supplement inadequate "security" wages. The transfer from work relief to W.P.A. means the complete abandonment of the family wage on relief operations which was one of the most enlightened procedures developed under F.E.R.A.

6. Instead of taking over the existing work-relief program *in toto*, as was done under C.W.A., and eliminating unsatisfactory projects thereafter, the Act provided a three-way approval of each individual project, with subsequent approval by the comptroller-general. In practice this has proved inconceivably cumbersome and fraught with delays. The original \$4,880,000,000 was a figure never reached; \$4,300,000,000 only has been made available. Of this sum, \$936,000,000 was expended for the general F.E.R.A. program. By December 31, 1935, \$2,138,000,000 had been assigned to work programs under standing federal departments and emergency units such as P.W.A., the Resettlement Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, C.C.C., including sums for purchase of land and for administrative expenses for such bodies as the National Emergency Council, the National Resources Committee, and so on. Only \$1,163,000,000 had been given to W.P.A. proper, and but \$63,000,000 remained to be allotted.

7. The program for transients announced during the summer contemplated their being made eligible for assignment to W.P.A. projects after two weeks' residence in any locality. This

announcement arrested a natural movement which had begun among migrants of making their way to whatever place they called home in order to qualify there for W.P.A. employment. Since then, the cutting-off of transient intake and the closing of numerous shelters have sent many transients to shuttling back and forth on the roads once more, while an adverse decision from the comptroller-general threatens the future of those transients who are already in transient work camps under management of state E.R.A.'s.

On March 4 the administrator ordered progressive cuts in W.P.A. rolls, including C.C.C., to bring the total down to three million at work by July 1. The President included in his message to Congress on March 19 a request for one and a half billion dollars additional funds to continue the W.P.A. program after that date. He stated that a full two billion dollars would permit the federal government to continue relief expenditures on the same scale as 1935, but that he was not asking this amount since the program for which he was asking would "give security to those most in need" provided private employers hired many of those now on relief rolls. This seems to indicate continued resolution on the part of the President not to be involved in the general relief program, and to continue to place the entire federal emphasis on programs of work, including P.W.A., W.P.A., and C.C.C.

The reductions of federal relief grants, faster usually than transfers were made possible to W.P.A., left the states with a heavy double burden, consisting of many employables in addition to all the so-called unemployables. In a majority of states the administrators estimate that state and local areas cannot carry the load which will remain even on the unlikely assumption that the W.P.A. quotas will finally be reached.

Let us say all the good we can of the W.P.A. It is furnishing work and security to a large proportion of the people it employs. It is producing some valuable public goods and services. It has divorced the administration of work relief and direct relief, and interposed between them, where in my judgment it properly be-

longs, the public-employment service. It has by indirection furnished a strong stimulus to state legislation for relief and the upbuilding of state and local systems of public welfare to deal with the residual load it leaves uncared for.

The delegates' conference of the A.A.S.W. made it perfectly clear that the profession wants the federal government behind a work program. What it does not want is a work program which is so set up that it can become the football of politics; which forces the unemployed through relief channels in order to obtain public employment; which fails to pay going wage rates; which decries and disparages direct relief; or which monopolizes the interest and the funds of the federal government and excludes it from any participation in the general relief program necessary as an underpinning to work relief and categorical home relief alike. Which leads me naturally to the second half of this gigantic federal program, the Social Security Act.

Not yet completely provided with funds, and threatened with unconstitutionality proceedings, the Social Security Act is, nevertheless, by far the more important and potentially powerful of the two branches which the tree of government has put out for the relief of distress. Unless the Social Security Board is enabled to function within the coming year, the W.P.A. will be a rootless and a fruitless effort, doomed to speedy withering. For our purposes we must concentrate on the three functions lodged in the Social Security Board for assisting the states in the relief of certain categories of the dependent poor.

RELIEF MEASURES

Old age assistance.—Title I provides an initial appropriation of \$50,000,000 (\$250,000 for administration) for the next fiscal year and annually thereafter of a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of the Act, for non-contractual assistance in cash to needy aged persons, to be paid from the United States Treasury to states which have submitted a state plan approved by the Social Security Board. Payments to states are to be made quar-

terly, on a fifty-fifty matching basis, up to a total of \$30 per month per individual not an inmate of a public institution.

Aid to dependent children.—Title IV appropriates an initial \$25,000,000 (\$250,000 for administration) for the next fiscal year, and annually thereafter a sufficient sum for payment to states which have submitted and had approved by the Social Security Board plans for granting cash aid to needy dependent children, defined as those under sixteen living with own parents or relatives nearer than cousins, who have been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent. Payments to states are to be made quarterly on a basis of one-third of the state's expenditures for the previous quarter, amounting to not more than a total of \$18 per month for one child in family and \$12 per month for others in the same family.

Aid to blind.—Title X appropriates an initial \$3,000,000 and "sufficient" funds annually thereafter to be paid to states having plans for aid to needy blind persons not inmates of institutions, which have been approved by the board. Standards which such plans must meet, and residence and citizenship rights of beneficiaries, are same as for Old Age Assistance (Title I) but no one in receipt of O.A.A. may benefit under Title X. Payments are to be made quarterly, on fifty-fifty basis, up to a total of \$30 monthly. Five per cent of federal grant is added for cost of state administration. Approval may be revoked as in O.A.A.

A division embracing those three relief measures was set up in the Social Security Board with Miss Jane Hoey in command. A press release issued by the Board under date of May 14, 1936, states that "thirty-four states and the District of Columbia have thus far taken advantage of the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act and are receiving Federal aid in providing for their needy aged persons, blind persons and dependent children." Up to May 16 grants to these thirty-four states from the Social Security Board had totaled a little over \$30,000,000.

Let us see what the net immediate results are from the combination of these two programs, if and when the Social Security Board gets into its stride:

1. The majority of the employable unemployed who were on relief early last summer have probably got jobs, which will last at least until next July, at a wage the adequacy of which depends entirely on the size of their families and other resources.

2. The employable unemployed who (a) refuse W.P.A. jobs, (b) fail to receive assignments, (c) get sick on the job, (d) complete their W.P.A. jobs and cannot immediately be reassigned, (e) are dismissed by W.P.A. as unsatisfactory, and (f) cannot

TABLE I
STATISTICS AS OF MAY 16

Categories	Applications Approved	Approval Pending	Grants Made up to 5/18/36	Amount Allocated
Old age assistance.....	32	4	54	\$27,108,713
Dependent children.....	18	8	30	2,318,525
Blind.....	19	3	18	803,633

live on their security wage, have no recourse except as they can secure relief from local and state tax funds administered by their local poor officers.

3. The employable unemployed who were not on relief prior to November 1, but who have subsequently had to apply for it, need not hope for W.P.A. jobs until the first line of certifications has been exhausted, and meanwhile must look to their local poor officers for support.

4. Among unemployables, the dependent aged, children, and blind people in states which proceed or have proceeded to qualify themselves by legislation, can hope to receive regular allowances, the standard of which will vary with the several states. If their state fails to present a plan and secure its approval, they, too, will be dependent, as will all other classes of unemployables, entirely on the resources of their local communities, with whatever aid their states may elect to furnish.

May I sum up briefly the purport of what I have been saying? The works and the social-security programs form no more than a good step in the direction of complete coverage of need in the United States. The program is a patchwork of relief plus insurance measures, covering very large and important patches, it is true, but leaving many areas untouched. The assumption of the drafters was, no doubt, that local initiative could be relied on to cover what remains. But our machinery and our resources to provide this coverage are lacking without continued federal supervision and participation. Planned public works and social insurance, both divorced from relief machinery, will mark a significant advance; but the most important part of a security program is the substructure upon which those services must rest—a non-categorical and well-integrated federal, state, and local administration for public welfare.

HOW MAKE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF WHAT WE KNOW?

*Linn Brandenburg, Director, Bureau of Statistics
and Research, Council of Social Agencies
Chicago*

WHAT we know" in Councils of Social Agencies falls into two categories: first, the statistical information, facts, and studies available within the Council itself; second, the statistical information, facts, and studies available in other research departments in the community. I believe that the factors that enter into "keeping studies from accumulating dust" in a community have their roots in the community's pattern of use of facts. I conceive of our Research Bureau staff as being promoters of the use of facts as well as gatherers of facts. I should like, therefore, before discussing procedure on studies, to outline briefly some of the means we employ to have simple factual material and figures available for and used by our agencies, committees, and individuals. These means were adopted in the belief that the factual approach to problems in social work is greatly abetted by making facts easily available, by making them simple and readable, and by making them available promptly.

Our first vehicle was a monthly statistical bulletin in which are published those service statistics which the agencies themselves and the various division committees of the Council have indicated are the most useful. Agency persons are consulted in the month-by-month analysis of the figures regarding the correct interpretation, thus stimulating awareness of possible uses. The bulletin is also used to review studies, statistical handbooks, and annual reports of agencies which we think may be of interest or help to agencies. It is used to introduce and foster

interest in studies we are undertaking. In one field—group work—in which reporting was being developed, it was used through a series of articles to sell the reporting idea to the agencies. The terminology is simple. Form is sacrificed often for the sake of promptness. Our mailing list includes reporting agencies, members of budget committees, board members, libraries, and universities. Articles from the bulletin are sometimes the basis for newspaper articles.

In addition to the monthly bulletin we publish a *Social Service Year Book* of Chicago. This publication gives in summary form a factual picture of what is actually accomplished year by year in the various fields of social work in one community. I quote from the Foreword of the 1933 *Social Service Year Book*:

In order to be comprehensive, the *Year Book* contains not only statistical information but such other factual material as dates of certain legislation, important changes in social service policies and changes in local community organization which affect social work.

The *Year Book* does not propagandize and is not a vehicle for the expression of individual opinions or points of view. It tries to help people state facts rather than generalizations and in so doing to think more clearly and concisely.

The *Year Book* is written each year by different committees from the functional fields, plus committees from groups which cut across all fields, such as the American Association of Social Workers, which is responsible each year for the article on "Maintaining Standards of Social Work in Chicago."

We feel that the prepublication value of such work equals if not exceeds the publication value. One effective way of making use of what we know is to get a group of leaders from a field to put down in concise form, stripped of all hoped-for glory, what has or has not been accomplished in one year. Realization of lack of accomplishments and dearth of factual information on what has happened provides an impetus for the next year's work. By passing around the task of writing the articles each year many individuals are given a clearer conception of problems which lie ahead.

Our third method is central budgeting. The facts presented by the Council staff on agencies form the basis for budget-committee action regarding programs to which the Community Fund contributes money. It has been necessary, therefore, to present analyses of statistics and facts available in the Council and also to produce more facts on individual agencies and problems.

Facts gathered for budgeting committees are also utilized by other groups. For instance, the committee on standards and criteria in group-work agencies in arriving at norms used service statistics, qualifications of personnel, and salary ranges originally compiled for the budget committee.

We have been discussing primarily the use of information gathered by the Council. What of our responsibility for making our agencies conscious of sociological information and studies available elsewhere in the community?

Our first attempt to encourage agencies to use available information on their neighborhoods was a joint project with the Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago. The University by means of a C.W.A. project, sponsored by the Council, compiled census information on the seventy-five community areas in Chicago. This information was planographed and made available to the agencies at a nominal price.

Such a project stimulated us to develop three files for data pertinent to social work in Chicago: (1) collection of social data by geographic units, such as local community areas, local sub-communities, and census tracts; (2) index to studies pertinent to social work; and (3) index of statistical periodicals. The files are still in process of compilation, but we find that they are being consulted not only by our own staff in preparation of material for committees but by our agency people who are anxious to use what is available.

In an effort to insure the greatest possible usefulness of studies desired by the Council and made by students at the various universities the Research Committee agreed, upon request by the University, to appoint advisory committees to such studies. Several studies have been made under this ar-

rangement. One, a study of day nurseries, is now being used by the day-nursery section of the Council as a basis for raising standards within individual nurseries and within the Chicago group. Another, a study of free and small-fee camps, is being used by the camp committee of the Council as a basis for a camp directory. Both will be used by budget-reviewing committees.

Now let us turn to the procedure adopted in making our first three large surveys now under way. Before drafting a procedure for our studies we put three questions to ourselves. Why do studies fail to be effective? What types of persons are making studies? Is there a fundamental difference between the increasingly popular dynamic research and other research?

With respect to the first question, we canvassed the difficulties encountered in other studies. The following are some of the reasons why these studies were not effective:

1. The study was not really wanted by the agency or agencies concerned. It was made on the initiative of some influence or group which wanted to reform and was directed against the agency as a delinquent who felt no desire to reform.

2. The timing was faulty: (a) sufficient time was not allowed for making the study; (b) too much time elapsed between making of the study and the report; (c) not enough time was allowed for effecting changes recommended.

3. Agencies were not carried along in the processes of the study: (a) had no active part in formulation of objectives and methods of the study; (b) had no part in wrestling with the problems and questions raised during the course of the study; (c) had no part in formulating recommendations and passing on their practicability; (d) had no part in planning ways and means for putting recommendations into practice.

4. The Council of Social Agencies failed in its internal machinery, leadership, and follow-up interpretation of the study.

5. Insufficient money was available to put recommendations into effect.

Second, what types of persons are available to make studies?

1. There is the educator doing research. He is interested in focusing attention on obstacles in the community and thinking

through possible solutions co-operatively with the groups concerned.

2. There is the manipulator doing research. He is interested in results. He collects facts, and he educates enough key people to get external forms changed. He is not particularly interested in a broad base as long as he gets his recommendations through.

3. There is the research person who collects facts, formulates definite recommendations, and does not become involved in planning processes.

Third, is there a fundamental difference between the increasingly popular so-called "dynamic" research and other research?

If dynamic studies have any characteristic which is peculiar to them, it is that not only planning but also action goes on during the course of the study. Such planning and action may be by the research staff or by other planning groups. Processes, however, are started before the completion of the study. The dynamic study would also, therefore, depend less on written recommendations.

Our first three large surveys, now in process, involve evaluative studies of individual agencies and of the functional fields in which they operate. In finding out what each organization is doing, the problems dealt with, and the ones with which the agencies cannot cope, we hope to be able to evolve a plan for the entire functional field, and work out programs of individual agencies in the light of the total picture. The problem is further complicated by the possibilities of realignments between the three fields studied as well as within each field.

Our situation before us, we decided against the dynamic approach in so far as action during the course of the studies was concerned. We felt that it would be impossible to know what action was desirable until the three studies were finished. They were too interrelated, and there was too much danger of groups going off at tangents if action went on during the studies. Because of our feeling that the problems involved in these studies were problems which needed group thinking as well as action if they were to be effective, we sought our research directors from the "educator" category.

What are our chances for success? Where are our strengths? What are our weaknesses? I shall discuss first our strengths. Because of our persistent efforts we are not handicapped by a pattern of community skepticism regarding use that will be made of any material we gather. Although the Community Fund is financing the studies, the requests for the studies were made to the committee on statistics and research by committees of the respective divisions of the Council of which the agencies are members. Such requests came after various attempts at self-surveys had been made. Explanations regarding the purpose and scope of the study were made to the agencies by the secretary of the planning group in the Council and consent to be studied obtained by such secretary from the agency after the question had been discussed by the board of the agency and board action taken.

Copies of the statement on procedures in making the studies were given to all participating agencies, and outlines which were to be used were given those who were interested. Although the advisory committees to the studies are not made up of representatives as such from the agencies being studied, these committees are competent and are sufficiently representative of the dominant forces of the community to assist in securing adoption of the recommendations. They know the fields in which the studies are being made and have a broad-enough knowledge to see the programs in their community aspects. They are not interested in defending the work of one particular organization.

All recommendations grow out of the advisory committees and represent the thinking not only of the research person but of leaders from the field studied. Agencies check all factual material before its presentation to the advisory committee and know the questions that are being raised during the course of the study although it is impossible for them to know what recommendations will be made since the research person herself does not know until all studies are complete. The studies are not released to budget-reviewing committees until they have been transmitted to the agencies and discussions held. These discussions will not be rushed nor will allocations be held up pending

the results of the studies. Allocations will be voted for the first six months of the year, and tentative allocations for the last six months with reserves set up whenever possible to cover additional expenditures which may be needed. Every effort is being made to assist in the financing of certain reorganizations which may come.

The burden of interpreting the results of the study to the agency is shared by the research personnel, members of the board of the Council, and the planning division of the Council. Ways and means of putting recommendations into effect are worked out between the division of the Council and the agency with consultation with the research person.

The following seem to be the weak points in our study procedure. First, the committees requesting the studies were budgeting committees. Some of the agencies, therefore, believe that regardless of their wishes they must submit to being studied. Second, three big studies involving sixty agencies are a good many studies to be under way at one time, particularly when they are all being geared to be finished at the same time and particularly since all recommendations are being held up until all studies are completed. It is going to mean intensive work on the part of the division staffs of the Council if we make the fullest use of the study material. Third, too little time is allowed for the work undertaken. Fourth, we are studying past and present agency practices rather than needs or neighborhood situations. Our picture of needs we hope will emerge. Fifth, considerable time elapses and considerable momentum is lost between the time when the individual agency is studied and the time when recommendations are made and action expected.

In addition to the known strengths and weaknesses, we are keenly aware that in the last analysis the effectiveness of the studies will depend upon financial assistance from the Community Fund in carrying out their recommendations. Even more, perhaps, does their effectiveness depend upon the successful functioning of the Council's internal machinery and its leadership.

HOW CAN AN ADEQUATE PROGRAM OF LOCAL FACT-FINDING BE FINANCED?

*Harry M. Carey, Executive Secretary, Providence
Community Fund, Providence, Rhode Island*

NUMBER I on our list of prerequisites for financing an adequate program of local fact-finding is *genuine personal desire*. We must make up our minds that we want it need it, badly, and are willing to fight for it. We must be convinced of the need of fact-finding. There are a large number of persons, including social workers, who are skeptical of the need of research. The president of one of the largest social agencies in the city once asked: "Why do you spend so much time on studies and research work? A large number of persons in this city do not want efficiency. Why do you constantly ask about figures? Why don't you ask us about the human-interest part of our program?" She missed the point about fact-finding—that research is the tool necessary to accomplish what she wanted, which was a better understanding of the work of her agency. Some think research will mechanize their work, but if we fail to join the head with the heart, where will we be? We know that behind all the mechanics of community organization or fact-finding are acts of human helpfulness and efforts to make a healthier and happier people. We know that by doing this intelligently it means better service and more service for those we are trying to help. We are not interested in getting facts together merely to gather statistics, but because we know that it will make it possible for someone to give greater help to those in need of service.

When we consider that a study made last summer showed that, in 58 per cent of the cities reporting on this question, the community social service and health statistics were handled

on the side by staff members whose primary responsibility lay in some other phase of Chest or council work, we realize that "lack of fact-finding seems still to many as an inevitable deficiency." We recently made a study of the total disbursements of all public and private social-work and health organizations in some of the larger New England cities. We checked to discover who prepared these important fact-finding data in each community. Two had statisticians on their staffs who prepared the material, one used E.R.A. help, one a public accountant, one the publicity secretary, one the typist in the exchange, one a school of social work student. These are the persons who are preparing basic fact-finding for community planning! Relatively nothing is being spent by these cities for fact-finding.

Look over the report of the United States Children's Bureau giving excerpts from letters of local supervisors of the registration of social statistics. As one studies the reports from these nineteen cities scattered all over the country, one cannot help but be impressed by the lack of research and fact-finding facilities. Some are handled on the side by the Social Service Exchange staff or by some other staff member of the Council of Social Agencies. How long are we going to keep up this farce of community planning? Chests and councils need to be taken to task for not regarding more seriously their opportunities and responsibilities. This haphazard approach to research will not only breed discontentment, but will eventually react to the discredit of the whole Chest and council movement. If councils and Chests are not interested enough to demonstrate in their own offices what good fact-finding means to community planning, how can we expect the individual agencies or public to be interested in research?

Unless Chests and councils awake to their fact-finding responsibilities to a greater degree than has been evidenced recently, they should get out of the community-planning business and let some group do it who will approach it from an intelligent, sensible, and humane angle. When we see some Chest's budget committee making appropriations on the basis of in-

creases and decreases in budget items, rather than on the basis of the amount spent for each item; when we see some budget committee taking unto itself the responsibility for deciding on the finances of an agency without the committee's having before it accurate facts concerning that agency—then we can only conclude that this Chest has no business to have the responsibility for deciding on the appropriations to private agencies. Unless we can guarantee to the givers that we will do an intelligent job, we should not attempt any part of the budgeting process. Budgeting today is better than in the old days of individual agency drives, but that is no criterion, and we must accept the challenge of an intelligent budgeting program.

The same challenge must be accepted by Councils of Social Agencies. When we consider what conclusions are reached by council committees which never should have been allowed to have the responsibility of making decisions or coming to conclusions, because only meager information was available to them, we cannot help but feel that it would have been better if someone else or nobody had had the responsibility. Poor work of one group can nullify the good work of another group. Someone in every group should be constantly saying: "How can we discuss this matter? We have not the facts."

We now come to the second prerequisite for financing a research or fact-finding bureau—*group desire*. We should make the Chest budget committee and governing board or the Council of Social Agencies divisions and committees realize that they must have fact-finding facilities in order to proceed. These groups must realize the futility, the danger of making decisions on hearsay, rumors, gossip, sentiment, power, or influence and that the only way they can proceed is on the basis of facts. Try it out on some group some day, and you will be surprised at the results. You will soon have the group demanding facts. You can imagine the results if you have the Chest budget committee and the council committees all demanding a fact-finding bureau that can assemble data for them to show them where they are and in what direction their future lies.

The third point can be classified under the heading *emphasis on fact-finding*—that is, that we take advantage of every opportunity we have to put some money into fact-finding. We all try to eliminate our pet likes and dislikes when we are considering the emphasis of our programs and policies. Many agencies that needed research badly put some extra funds they had into some other part of their programs. Even agencies with decreasing budgets do find ways and means of rearranging the items in their budgets which permit increased allowances for certain items. It all depends upon our emphasis at the time of budget-making. If we will take advantage of certain “breaks” which we have, such as, receipt of endowments, special gifts, increased allowances, and put these extra funds into research, instead of some other branch of our work, we can then have a start on securing fact-finding facilities. These groups who say it would be impossible to rearrange their programs to allow an expenditure for research are often the very ones who change their programs sometime later for some other need which they think is more important.

The fourth plank in the platform for financing the research program is the *use of research money facilities*. We take it for granted that research is “dry” and that people, foundations, and corporations are not interested in the financing of research bureaus. They are as interested in getting facts concerning the work of the community agencies as they are in the work itself. Wealthy givers will pour money into a new building, endow a chair at a university, or pay for a demonstration of a visiting housekeeper program for a family welfare society, but they are not even asked to contribute to a research bureau when they could easily be convinced of the fact that research is basic to community planning. It is true that we have not educated local foundations to the value of fact-finding, but the major portion of the money disbursed by these general foundations should go into fact-finding, instead of being used to subsidize the “run of mine” or ordinary work of local organizations. It is also true that national foundations have been amiss in not helping to

finance and stimulate research bureaus more than they have. There is no more important step ahead of social work than the setting up of proper research facilities in our local communities.

Community welfare can be purchased. As has been brought out in recent Chest and council publications, we can have a community of wholesome boyhood and girlhood, stable family life, increasing health, if we are willing to work for it and pay for it. We can have a good, intelligent, well-staffed fact-finding bureau in our local communities, if we are willing to work for it and pay for it. This is the only course which is consistent with our human dignity and human happiness.

If anybody were to ask today how Providence got started on a research approach to the solution of its problems, I would answer by giving these four: (1) genuine personal desire; (2) group desire; (3) emphasis on fact-finding; and (4) use of research money facilities. They are not intangible. These four and these four alone accomplished it.

We felt there was little, if any, appreciation in Providence of fact-finding as a very vital tool to community enterprise, either by the community planning bodies or by the individual agencies. We had to create a personal desire for it among our own staff, our officers, our committee secretaries, and agency executives. They admitted that they did not have facts covering their own work, and they began to ask us how they could accumulate them. This personal desire for research and the backing thereof was necessary first.

Then we started developing group desire for research. We were constantly saying to the Chest budget committee that we did not have accurate data to make an intelligent decision on the problem before it and that eventually it should recommend a research bureau and also a survey of the entire social service structure. We told the divisions of the Council of Social Agencies, the committees of the Chest, the boards of the agencies, the local chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. This group desire and the backing thereof was necessary as the second step.

Then we started a real emphasis on fact-finding, the third plank of the platform. We worked and worked on a rearrangement of our own council and fund budgets and the total budget for all social and health work in Providence to see what funds were available as a start on the projects. It so happened that a few thousand could be secured from an item that was found unnecessary. Other parts of the program were readjusted. We showed the Chest budget committee how it could be financed, if they were willing to put some extra money into the project. With the written requests to the budget committee from the Council of Social Agencies, the American Association of Social Workers' local chapter, and influential individuals in the community the budget committee approved the appropriation of funds for a survey and a permanent research bureau with a trained statistician. Emphasis was placed on fact-finding. Research money facilities were used. Personal and group desire were developed. Providence weighed values of other needed community endeavors, and fact-finding won out.

Our community programs are going through readjustments. Shall these changes be based on a purposeless drift or on an intelligent and humane foundation? Adequate financing of fact-finding facilities will insure the latter. For our own protection we must eliminate our present penny-wise and pound-foolish policy if we are to get anywhere in the next ten years.

AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY OF VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK DURING PERIOD OF CHANGING LOCAL AND NATIONAL GOV- ERNMENTAL PROGRAMS

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THE question posed for us to answer, in general terms, employs at least four unit ideas, each one of which is itself somewhat lacking in clarity. May we, therefore, first center our discussion around each one separately, and in the end try to pull all four into a summary. The four component concepts are those of (1) voluntary social work, (2) social planning, (3) changing governmental programs, and (4) social responsibility.

What is voluntary social work?—Voluntary social work is as yet a somewhat indefinite set of concerns of a good many groups of people organized in a most bewildering fashion with geography, type of work, historical accident, sectarian allegiance, cultural background, personal temperament of leaders, and other bases that make them fractions with anything but common denominators. Let us look for a moment at the voluntary social-work establishment in New York City. According to a count recently made of voluntary agencies requiring contributions raised directly or indirectly for current expense, it had 730 social welfare organizations of a local character, aside from hospitals and clinics. These have been grouped as shown on following page.

We may be pretty short on actual resources in services, but we seem not to lack units of separate organization. If we assume that these organization units each had as many as twenty ac-

tively interested persons who feel closely identified with it, we have a total of 14,600 persons, lay and professional, who constitute the army on the voluntary sector. That is two per 1,000 of our city's total population—not too many if they were a united force, but still a good many if they are not pulling together.

In this connection let us give a moment's thought to the fact that voluntary social work is still carried on to a large extent under sectarian auspices. The only careful attempt, of which I know, to examine this point of sectarian alignment of social

Total.....	730
Family service and relief agencies.....	39
Medical social service departments.....	60
Services for special groups.....	39
Health services (exclusive of hospitals and clinics)...	49
Services for the handicapped.....	34
Protective and correctional agencies.....	40
Institutions for dependent children.....	49
General child-care agencies.....	121
Homes for the aged.....	66
Young people's associations.....	13
Settlements and neighborhood houses.....	73
Recreational agencies.....	31
Housing agencies.....	53
Other.....	63

agencies in a whole metropolitan community was made by Kate Huntley for the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City. It is not by any means an easy question to probe. But after thorough examination of the organization relationships of the entire body of social agencies in New York City, Miss Huntley came to the conclusion that the expenditures in 1929 for social and health work, other than hospitals and clinics, were made by Protestant agencies to the extent of 27 per cent of the whole, by Catholic agencies to the extent of 17 per cent, by Jewish agencies to the extent of 18 per cent, and by non-sectarian agencies to the extent of 38 per cent.¹ And

¹ *Financial Trends in Organized Social Work in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

may I add that the non-sectarian agencies are not without their own type of group alliances of one sort and another.

Taking the whole of social-work personnel, board members and staff, one is led to believe that they probably constitute a cross-section of the country's thinking and belief about what could and can be done in the field of social welfare. But the very fact that they are a cross-section should warn us that they are now far from uniform or homogeneous in their beliefs. While that should not dismay or really discourage us, it should make us more keenly aware of the nature of any task that requires the concerting of opinion on these welfare questions.

With this matter of participation in affairs outside the agency itself in mind, let us look for a moment at another aspect of the case, that is, the size of the organizations from which it is to come. In New York City over 43 per cent of the agencies had expenditure budgets in 1934 of less than \$15,000. Thus nearly half of the agencies are of such size that there cannot be division of labor on the professional staff of the type that frees anyone for much work outside of the organization. The next 33 per cent are in the bracket with budgets of \$15,000 to \$50,000, while only 24 per cent of the agencies have expenditures that exceeded \$50,000. Fifteen per cent of the agencies expended \$100,000 or over. Generally speaking, it is not an accident that it is the professional people from the big agencies who can give an appreciable amount of time to extramural activities.

Closely related to this point of size and number of agencies is the manner of their support. It is not unlikely that the most effective presentation of what voluntary agencies wish the public to think about them and their work is made in connection with their appeals for money. Again, with this idea of the voluntary agencies' relation to the whole welfare scene in mind, may we ask what they tell the public about the total function in the community of which they are a part? About the total welfare program toward which the various functional activities contribute? What do Community Chests say about this matter? What do individual agencies say? What do national agencies say?

And what do these various agencies say and imply about the government's part of the social welfare program as they go about raising funds for their own support? Is the public thereby led to understand the total problem and the total program better? I need not press this matter. It is often in our thoughts. Could we agree that the social-planning concept has yet to make its *début* in social-work publicity?

A second aspect of agencies' support is that of the actual time and mental energy consumed in the process of money-raising, especially in small agencies and in communities without provision for central financing. The multiple rôle of salesman, administrator, sometimes practitioner, and now the proposed job of planner on which we shall try to be more explicit in the next section is too much for most of us. Any board capable of participating in community welfare study and planning has plenty to do, especially in these times. And that brings us to this question of:

What is social welfare planning?—Essentially planning is the formulation of coherent ideas calling for and describing action in the future. It has to do with rounded recommendations, proposals, and suggestions of courses of action to be followed. Since these are a thrust into the future, they always introduce elements of risk and uncertainty. Such proposals and suggestions seem more acceptable when each phase of them has been examined and weighed by people who have had experience with the subject of the planning operation and who have given thought and study to it and when knowledge and experience are synthesized. But knowledge and even experience are not the whole story. Planning implies capacity to invent new ways of accomplishing purposes and deliberately to adapt old ways to new circumstances.

In a recent publication on city planning Abram Garfield, chairman of the Cleveland City Planning Commission, describes with real honesty our plight with regard to planning. He says:

Now finally, so that we may know what we want when we go to the [City] Council and ask for an appropriation, let us at least realize that our wish is not

answered by employing ten or a dozen draftsmen and setting them to work. That suggestion has actually been made, but, the fact is, no one would know what to tell them to do. The thing that we want, I believe, is the employment of some one person, qualified as nearly as possible in every essential respect, to make this subject his sole interest for a period of several years and to give him whatever assistance, paid and otherwise that he needs.²

I suppose it was these creative, synthesizing elements that Mr. Garfield had especially in his mind when he suggested, not a dictator—for he would give his man no final power—but an artist, a designer.

There is still another angle on this matter of social welfare planning that we are sure to run into, once it gets past the disaster relief stage. Sooner or later the question of what for arises. What are we really driving at? What are we trying to get the community to purchase? And when the definition of underlying purpose is formulated, it somehow leads around to the principles that people think should govern in human relationships. And that is something again to think about in connection with our people, lay and professional, in voluntary social work—or in public, for that matter.

But whatever the ends of public welfare programs, their planning for concrete action must concern itself with the organization of the means, that is, with the several factors of activity or function, with the size of operation or coverage, with the quality of service to be rendered, and with public understanding and support, and may I say that public understanding is vitally necessary not only to secure support; public understanding is quite as necessary to prevent perversion of services, as well.

Planning implies that these ideas of quality and quantity must not be played off one against another as they often have been in the past, but that they will be harmonized and integrated. In short, planning implies that there must be growing clarity as to what social welfare programs will undertake to do in terms of definite activities; how much of each given activity is to be carried on at a given time; how it is to be done, that is, the method to be applied; how well it is to be done, that is, qual-

² *The Contribution of the Citizens to a City Plan* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1936).

ity and expertness in the application of method; and how it is to be supported, and that these must all be thought of together.

That we are moving forward toward conceptions of continuous, integrated, and studied planning in the field of social welfare administration in at least some communities there can be little doubt. The Hartford Survey and its continuation may be cited as an example of an encouraging attempt to grapple and to keep grappling with the total welfare program in a metropolitan community of 230,000 people. The Community Fund of Chicago, Inc., and the Chicago Council of Social Agencies have announced their determination to work toward the "gradual evolution of a reasonable community plan." Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Dayton, and St. Louis come to our minds in this connection. The Welfare Council of New York City has devoted the first ten years of its life to the continuous cultivation of such relationships and the continuous accumulation of such data on activities, personnel, and finances as will, it is hoped, enable planning activities in that huge and complex community to change from the co-operative gestures required of agencies, public and voluntary, "to smooth out differences when their paths happen to cross"—to quote the Hartford Survey—to the operation of a total community program more positively and measurably effectual. In a city of the size and social complexity of New York City that is a matter not of years but of decades.

This is a little aside from our story at this point, which is to the effect that planning endeavors in the social welfare field are emerging here and there and that these strongly point to the conviction that if we conceive of planning as consisting, on the one hand of study that takes concentrated thought to define and describe problems and possibilities of attack, and on the other hand laborious processes of concerting opinion and of arriving at understandings among people that will stand up under subsequent pressures of all sorts, then we must see that it takes time to participate in that process. And with that thought we get on to the third part of our discussion, that relating to governmental programs. It

may get us along a little faster if we phrase our third question in this way:

What conditions in recent years have characterized local and national governmental welfare programs in relation to the conduct of planning?—In this campaign year one finds it difficult to speak freely about this matter of governmental programs—difficult not because of fear of hurting or offending one's friends in public office with whom, if one has ever been in a public job himself, one has the deepest sympathy, but because it is always possible that what one says may still further confuse an already complicated picture. One of the best-known ways of doing just that is to introduce the elements of political partisanship and blind personal loyalties, as one may be tempted to do. I should like to stop a moment here and ask whether we could agree at the outset that every social worker primarily interested in the welfare of the people of the nation would not do well to demand that public welfare programs be removed from the arena of partisan political combat and be judged, if possible, without regard to political setting? Should we not insist, in this year of 1936, that every political party acknowledge immediately that any government in power cannot escape, unless it wishes to abdicate, from the necessity of stepping somehow into the breach when the ordinary economic institutions of the country fail to afford people a chance to earn their bread in the ordinary way? Cannot all politicians be forced to acknowledge that hungry people cannot await the cautious reorganization of business undertaken in its own way and in its own time? Whether governments—federal, state, and local—will meet genuine relief needs of the people is not debatable.

This seeming digression brings us to the point of two considerations. The first is actually to see what has taken place with regard to governmental welfare programs in recent times and in relation to planning, and the second is to foresee, if we can, what is implied for the future.

With regard to the immediate past it can be said with truth, and also with sympathetic understanding, that the federal gov-

ernment's public welfare program has been subject to very wide, very rapid, and, what seems to the onlookers, essentially unpredictable changes. These changes have been of such a nature as to make it practically impossible for voluntary agencies wishing to contribute toward an orderly handling of welfare administration either to arrange their own program or to plan their own work individually or collectively with reference to the government's program for even a few months in advance or often to get any sense of what the government wished or expected them to do. As for participation in advance planning, after the early summer of 1933 there has been no channel through which such could occur so far as the national government is concerned. In the case of state and local governments communities have varied with no generally accepted scheme of relationships established by which voluntary social agencies or social workers could participate in the shaping of these changes.

This carries us to the question of whether a more stable national policy in social welfare programs may be expected to emerge fairly soon—a program which has some quality of sustained direction. In a recent article for the *Yale Review* Walter Lippmann compared the policies common to both the Republican and the Democratic administrations in recent years, in the hope that thereby he could discern the nature of the new phase of national life into which we are now moving, regardless of what party holds the reins of government. After reviewing the recovery policies of the last six years he reports:

Here we have an assumption of responsibility for the operation of the whole national economy and the conviction that all the reserve power of government and all the resources it can command may and must be used to defend the standard of life of the people "against forces beyond their control." . . . It would seem that the decision which Mr. Hoover took in the autumn of 1929 is irreversible: he committed the government to the new function of using all its power to regulate the business cycle. . . . Because Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt have regulated a slump, their successors will also have to regulate a boom. The business cycle has been placed within the orbit of government, and for laissez faire and individual adjustment and liquidation there has been substituted conscious management by the political state.³

³ "The Permanent New Deal," *Yale Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (June, 1935).

To the extent that the government fails to manage the business cycle successfully and permits depressions, it incurs the obligation to provide for people by other means, and a part at least of these other means will be its social welfare program. The faster we can develop some generally accepted nucleus or design in national welfare policy for periods longer than four years, the better off we shall be. Unless we can do that, we shall continue in the era of striving for salvation by election rather than salvation by hard thinking on the part of all of us. The kind of national social welfare program to which all people of disinterested good will now look forward is one that, through quiet work performed day by day and year by year, builds and operates a network of social relationships that on the one hand keeps as many people as possible free from necessity of attention from professional social welfare forces, even the insurances, and on the other operates for those who are in need in a sure, straightforward, and competent way. I come now to my last question:

What is social responsibility and how does it arise?—Let us think for a moment about this idea of responsibility—a word often on our lips but seldom defined. Can we start with the idea that it encompasses both an ethical and a positively active rôle, and that the ethical has some negative aspects to it—a few prohibitions? Is it thinkable that responsibility in the sense of actual, tangible, special obligation for a task so exacting and essentially so difficult as that of taking part in planning for human welfare can come about or arise in any other than these three ways: (1) a definite commitment or promise, wisely or unwisely made; (2) a presumption arising from past performances that leave no doubt as to ability, and (3) a favored position or set of circumstances which strongly imply a reciprocal obligation on the part of the persons, in such position, to utilize it in the interest of the community as a whole if the community needs their service. In this country the field is open to anyone who wishes to try his hand, but can the obligation be specially fastened on him in any other than the ways listed above? If this is so, should we not ask first whether voluntary social work, as

described, has actually come under obligation for planning as described and, if so, on what basis? What promises have been made with regard to planning the nation's and the community's welfare program or even taking part in it? What planning has been done that would lead to the belief and the conviction that voluntary social work could plan, i.e., are there are precedents or mores? Is there any planning record? Finally, is voluntary social work in such a strategic or favorable place that the community has a right to expect that it will utilize its favored position to help with light and leading?

Are not the answers to our several questions: first, that voluntary social work, taken as a whole, has actually made no promises but that parts of the social-work establishment are edging up toward making them; second, that not enough planning of social welfare programs, on the scale now needed, has actually been done to date by voluntary social work to create an obligation for it to continue, although it has, at that, done better than any other single group; and finally that, although the position of voluntary social work is handicapped in some ways for participation in planning, its position for helping with that difficult job is better than that of many other groups. It is from this condition that its obligation grows. Whether it can or will fulfil its obligation to contribute more effectively is probably the most important question that it will have to answer in the next ten years.

Areas of responsibility for participation in a planned community welfare program.—With regard to activities and their aims, has not voluntary social work the obligations: to describe each kind of social-work activity accurately; to tell what it is intended to accomplish; to tell how the need for it might have been prevented; when aims shift, to report that change; to report scientifically whether or not, or to what extent, these activities achieved their aims? With regard to quantity of effort expended, has voluntary social work any duty to take an interest in total volume of social welfare services performed in each field for the whole community; to organize means and methods

for measuring at regular intervals the volume of effort expended; to measure regularly the volume of effort against demonstrated need for services of a definite character?

With regard to methods, i.e., social-work practice, does voluntary social work have any duty closely to scrutinize the methods that it uses in order to develop a more truly scientific foundation; to increase the chance of success in outcome; to lower unit costs without sacrifice of quality and chance of successful results? With regard to the development of expertness and skill in the application of method, does voluntary social work have any duty to analyze the elements of skill and expertness in workers; to classify social-work processes in terms of their demands for skill of the various degrees; to develop ways and means to enhance the skill of the personnel in social work?

With regard to support of the community's welfare program, do voluntary agencies have any duty to employ such accounting methods as will make possible analysis of expenditure from the community point of view, to find out and advise the community accurately as to its own economic basis? Are the people in voluntary social work prepared to face the possibilities: that definite opportunities for revising beneficially the total program of voluntary social work itself will appear in many places; that control of growth will probably require at least the provisional establishment of some priorities among the several parts of a welfare program to encourage the exploration and development of certain types of work, to expand or contract volume here or there, to accent teaching or research in connection with some organization?

There can, however, be no effective consideration and planning of the elements together until there are genuinely acceptable instruments by which consideration of action, in the interest of the whole, can take place. This consideration and action will be achieved only at the price of some forfeit of the right of complete self-determination. Whatever Mr. Garfield may think of the one-man system of devising plans for the physical reorganization of Cleveland, the reorganization of the welfare serv-

ice program of most American communities will have to employ collective and co-operative consideration.

These ideas are recited not because they are new but because most of them still await application and trial. Our purpose here is to see if it is still around these that we should orient our thinking or whether the world has entered a new phase in which they are no longer pertinent or real leads to the future. Should we try to get our bearings by means of some new compass for voluntary social work?

I still should like to say a final word about community welfare planning. If it is anything, it is a high form of social art based on knowledge of community conditions and of what constitutes a workmanlike, efficient job, but it transcends knowledge. As is the case with other arts, there is always need for its practice by great artists, and room in its galleries for minor ones and for amateurs. Our country needs a substantial body of people with capacity to think and to lead in affairs of social work as it never has before. Not fault-finding, not nostalgia for an old order, not a clinging to some prerogative by either Brahmin or Bolshivik, not panaceas, but hard, honest work to push through to new solutions, new adaptations, new ways of applying broadly the soundest knowledge that we have.

FEDERAL AND STATE ORGANIZATION OF TAX-SUPPORTED SOCIAL WORK

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WHEN the federal social-security plan was being worked out, no one seemed particularly concerned about its organization or administration. The report of the Committee on Economic Security contains nothing specific on state organization for its recommended program and deals only in brief generalities with federal organization. That is quite typical. We all take much more delight in the spectacular aspects of getting a law on the statute books than we do in the more prosaic task of making the law work. Personally I fear the crystallization of unsound plans in the period of lethargy which is bound to come. I also am apprehensive lest the welfare programs in some states be so badly administered that the whole field of public welfare will suffer a setback in the eyes of the public from which it will take years to recover.

We must appreciate that we are merely at the threshold of an extensive public welfare development about whose operation we know relatively little at the present time. Many of the states already are perplexed about fundamental organizational problems, and we need to do some hard work on the subject. In what follows, I am thinking of the organization of federal and state services for a rounded public welfare program.

Federal organization.—The first essential of sound federal organization is that all welfare services or plans for grants-in-aid to states for welfare purposes be administered by one federal authority. I mean by this that if there is to be a resumption of

federal aid to states for relief, it must be handled by the same authority which handles grants-in-aid for assistance to special classes such as the aged, dependent children, and the blind. I advisedly say "authority." I happen not to be interested in a federal welfare department, but I do insist that our federal welfare functions should be either in an administration, that is, an independent office with a status similar to that of the Social Security Board or else in a bureau within one of the existing departments. If the federal government is to foster simplicity of operation in the states, it must adapt its organization to the pattern of state welfare organization. We cannot have agents from several different Washington agencies descending with conflicting policies, regulations, and methods of procedure upon a single state administrative unit.

The Bureau of Public Assistance in the Social Security Board represents the beginning of what might be a nucleus for a continuing federal grant-in-aid program for welfare services. Since it is a major federal unit today and since it may have greater responsibilities in the future, we must critically examine its present status in the security-board organization.

In the first place, Congress has established a complex organizational structure by creating the Social Security Board in the "board of control" pattern. Administrative control is always difficult to develop in an organization ruled by a triumvirate. It inevitably means delay and compromise in executive action. On the other hand, the board of three provides an effective mechanism for some of the quasi-judicial functions which are entailed in a new enterprise of this character. The difficulties inherent in this form of organization are not insurmountable as has been demonstrated by several of the state boards of control.

The greatest danger I foresee in the present organization of the security board will derive from the attempt to have centralized control and extensive central services for three such distinct activities as are represented in the Bureau of Federal Old Age Benefits, the Bureau of Public Assistance, and the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, respectively. The old age

benefit plan will be an elaborate federal operation requiring hundreds of branch offices and thousands of employees. It will be a huge mechanical operation with none of the subtleties of federal-state relations involved. The only relationship which it bears to the Bureau of Public Assistance is that eventually the contributory pensions should replace much of the assistance granted under non-contributory old age assistance. The only similarity which the operation of the unemployment compensation plan bears to the public assistance program is that both are federal grants-in-aid plans, but the type of subvention is entirely different in each instance. A state receives a direct grant for old age assistance, for example, in terms of the number of persons aided, while a state unemployment compensation unit receives its operating expenses from the federal government and its benefit funds through holding 90 per cent of a tax which the state collects. In its administration, unemployment compensation is much closer to the United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor than it is to either of its sister bureaus under the board.

It is obvious that each of these three operations will be an enormous administrative task in itself. The attempt to administer all three programs through one channel will pile up too tremendous a load for those at the head of the organization. It will mean that all three of the programs will suffer in the long run from lack of continuous administrative attention. It will mean subordinate employees waiting and waiting for decision from the top.

These bureaus should operate with the same semi-independent status which bureaus in most federal departments enjoy. The Bureau of Old Age Benefits should have as much leeway as the Bureau of the Census has in the Department of Commerce. The Bureau of Public Assistance should have the same latitude which is granted the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

The question of central administrative services such as accounting, statistics, etc., for the entire board versus operation of

these functions by the bureaus is one of those moot points on which there will never be agreement. The assistance program involves certain financial and statistical activities, however, which are intrinsically a part of the state plans of administration. We are too prone to divorce social service operations from fiscal controls as it is and it would be too much to expect a bureau servicing the entire board's program to be alert to the peculiar requirements of forty-eight states.

If one imagines a plan of federal aid for general relief added to the present functions of the Bureau of Public Assistance, the argument for a more self-contained bureau seems to me to be completely convincing.

A federal welfare authority which is administering grants-in-aid to states should have a field organization, operating from equivalent main divisions in the central office, covering the following activities:

A. Supervision of state organization

Functions: General oversight of state operation

Advice on state laws

Assistance on state administration, including state personnel system

B. Supervision of the service program

Functions: Advice on methods and techniques

Leadership in training program

Assistance on social service supervision

C. Supervision of financial administration

Functions: General attention to all state fiscal operations

Assistance in installations, state and local

Establishment of fiscal controls

D. Supervision of state reporting

Functions: Installation of state statistical operations

Stimulation and guidance of special research and statistical projects

The question of the number of field or regional offices needed will not be discussed, but the status of the field office is very important. These offices should not be administrative in character or offices of record but should serve as a channel between the federal organization and the states. The regional office should

participate in all decisions made by the central office involving the states in its area. The pattern developed by the F.E.R.A. by the fall of 1934 will be recognized in this description. Of course, in a permanent agency more stability of staff and procedures can be achieved than is possible in an emergency agency.

In addition to this particularized service, the federal authority should operate certain central services for the benefit of the states. These would include research, information, and special consultants on problems of the aged, the blind, child welfare, etc.

Again I must take exception to the federal Social Security Board's organization plans as I now understand them. One general person as the chief regional representative for the three distinct programs will mean confusion of method between the direct action on the federally operated program and the indirect action required in the grant-in-aid activities. It is as absurd to me as having regional representatives of the Interior Department through which the National Park Service, the General Land Office, and the Office of Education have to clear.

State organization.—It has been obvious thus far that I believe that the state's participation in the various assistance programs should be centered in a single state department. I think it is beside the point to discuss the question of whether that department should include corrections and mental hygiene. That is a matter to be settled in terms of the size and tradition of the individual state. The important thing is that the assistance programs have a major place in the state department. Some of the older departments, whose responsibilities in the past have been so much heavier in the institutional field, will tend to slight the direct services merely from force of habit. To guard against this, these departments must rearrange their organization so that the assistance programs will not be buried under institutional functions or subordinated in a pattern designed for institutional management or inspection.

The inclusion of the assistance programs in a single state department is the only guaranty that there will be any kind of

equalization of treatment among the various types of aid. For example, we now have in the states a veritable maze of percentages of reimbursement. The federal act has for the moment crystallized this confusion by providing a federal share of one-half of the state-local expenditures for aged and blind persons, and only a third for the care of dependent children. These differentials are superimposed upon a variety of state percentages of reimbursement to localities. The result is that a person must be an expert in higher mathematics to comprehend the various state financial arrangements with localities. A financial and reporting problem has been created which is serious enough in itself; the cost of administering these differentials will be excessive. More serious, however, is the fact that the type of care extended by the community will tend to be determined in many instances by the amount of reimbursement which the locality can secure for a particular case.

The effect of a variety of percentages of reimbursements is shown in the condition existing in New Jersey prior to recent amendments to the state law. A person receiving blind relief who reached his seventieth birthday was transferred to the old age rolls. The county paid the full cost of blind relief while the state reimbursement for old age assistance was 75 per cent, yet the maximum grant provided by law was \$40 a month for blind relief as compared with only \$31 for old age. (Across the river in New York City a blind person is limited to \$300 a year so he is better off when transferred to old age relief since under the latter type of aid he may receive assistance on a budgetary deficiency basis without any legal limitation on the amount of the total grant.) In Massachusetts beneficiaries of soldiers' relief, a purely local charge, have not been eligible for old age assistance on which the state reimburses one-third the cost and which has a higher standard of benefits throughout the state.

Short of amending laws to provide for equal rates of reimbursement, which will have to start with federal legislation, the only way to secure equity of treatment for various classes of dependents is for the state department, within whatever power

it possesses, to insist upon equal standards of relief for various classes of aid.

Another moot topic in the area of state organization is the question of whether the state department should be headed by an administrative board which appoints the executive or whether the executive should be appointed directly by the governor. My personal view is that we should not prescribe either form for all states—that there are drawbacks to both and each state will have to make up its own mind with due regard for its governmental pattern, and particularly in view of whether there is an adequate merit system covering the state staff. The advocates of the administrative board, however, seem to prescribe that form under all circumstances. Miss Grace Abbott in her recent review of the recommendations of the Wardwell Commission for the abandonment of the administrative board plan in New York State takes the commission to task for not having observed the unhappy experience with the cabinet plan in certain other states (about which the commission was quite well informed, by the way), but at the same time she herself fails to examine the satisfactory experience with the executive plan fortified by civil service in the state departments of health, corrections, and mental hygiene in New York State. As a matter of fact, we have little sustained experience to show the efficacy of either plan in large-scale state assistance programs. Certainly the new areas of state responsibility are quite different from the inspectional and institutional functions which largely characterized state welfare administration up to the depression. The fact that local boards charged with the administration of public assistance so frequently seem to have been actuated by personal and class prejudices does not augur well for lay control of large state-wide assistance programs.

One recent development in state administration which should be noted is that of state operation of assistance programs as opposed to systems of state aid to locally administered relief services. Many of the emergency relief programs have been entirely state-operated, and this has probably stimulated the de-

velopment of more permanent state plans on this pattern. I do not feel competent to discuss the efficacy of state operation because I have not observed a state system at first hand. In theory I think this form has many advantages for the small, sparsely populated state where administration can be set up on a district or area basis rather than being restricted to counties or other small local units. On the other hand, the preliminary evidence I have from some of the state-operated old age assistance plans suggests that some of them retain more actual local participation than appears on the surface and that many of the problems of state-local relationship remain. I shall limit my discussion of state structure, however, to the systems of state supervision and state aid.

The state department (or the division of public assistance) needs to have a set of supervisory services similar to those of the federal. The quality of supervision, however, should be more intensive and should involve more detailed controls. Eventually I see the state forced into a generalized service because we cannot afford to have an adequate supervisory force for each category of aid, even if it were desirable. Furthermore, the localities will rebel against four or five different sets of state workers coming into the community, not to mention the number of required forms and reports which is mounting daily. The pattern which I suggest would, nevertheless, apply with only slight modification to the supervision of any particular type of assistance.

The principal functions should fall under the following main units of the department or division. In large states there will have to be district offices organized on the same pattern, while smaller states can undoubtedly do the entire job more effectively from the state office.

A. Organizational supervision

Functions: General oversight over local operation

Assistance on all phases of local administration

Operation of a state system of personnel certification or approval

Check on local financial conditions

B. Service supervision

- Functions: Advice on methods and techniques
Assistance on social service supervision
Training and other personnel development
Special consultant service on: budgets, nutrition, medical service, property and insurance, legal advice
Specialists in problems of the blind, children, the aged, and veterans

C. Financial supervision

- Functions: Installation of effective fiscal systems in local districts
Accounting and auditing
Integration of state requirements with local financial procedures

D. Control of statistics and reporting

- Functions: Establishing local recording units
Verifying local statistical work
Adapting local records to federal and state requirements

It will be noted that I make no provision for the state approval of individual cases which is the commonest form of state control now used in old age assistance. This type of control can be operated under the setup I have outlined. I visualize as more important, however, a frontal approach to local administration which I concede is harder to achieve. The individual case review is a method of despair; it is an admission that satisfactory local administration cannot be secured so the state must protect itself by satisfying itself as to the eligibility of every case on which it reimburses. As a method of control it is not so infallible as it appears, and it inevitably centers the attention of the state administration on minutiae rather than upon major issues of policy and administration. Obviously if the state could secure good local administration, satisfactory local personnel, and efficient local accounting and recording, it would not have to concern itself about the acceptance of the mass of the cases.

My suggestion for the organization of state functions is still in the stereotyped state-local relation pattern. I am convinced, nevertheless, that the last word in state supervision of local districts in the larger states is not to be found in a plan which covers the state uniformly. I suspect that some alert state com-

missioner will devise a pattern of control which will separate the supervisory functions under two headings: service to large units and service to small units. It has been well demonstrated that the same services are not needed in the large cities which are called for in rural areas. Frequently the large city has a more competent staff than the state has. Where the city department has a competent case supervisor, the state social worker is a fifth wheel. On the other hand, in small areas which cannot afford local supervisors, the state worker inevitably assumes local supervisory functions. The geographical districting of a state invariably creates regions which contain both a metropolitan area and a number of rural counties, and one or the other suffers from neglect. A simple experiment would be to have the large cities deal directly with the state office or through special representatives while the state supervisory field staff would cover the smaller areas through the ordinary district plan.

At the beginning of this paper I indicated that the housekeeping phases of putting federal and state welfare programs in order are regarded by most of us as dull and routine. For my own part, I think we have quite an adventurous period in administration ahead of us. We really don't know much about the most effective organizational methods in this field. Social work as such offers us effective ways of dealing with applicants and recipients, proper methods of recording, and sound practice in training and supervising the social service staff. On the other hand, we must develop, with the aid and leadership of other groups, simplified and useful financial procedures, productive types of statistical reporting, and a new code of federal-state-local governmental administration.

SOME CAUSES OF ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

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IT IS a striking fact even to the most superficial observer that economic distress presents highly varying features both as to the range of its incidence and as to the intensity with which it strikes. Economic life under our present capitalist system is not a smooth evolutionary process. Its development, far from being well balanced, proceeds by fits and starts, and is marked by alternate periods of expansion and sharp contraction.

On the other hand, practically all our social legislation is based upon the assumption of smooth evolutionary development of economic life. Our social measures are centered on three main problems: first, general economic measures dealing with obstacles that regularly create more or less long periods of unemployment for certain groups of workers; second, establishment of systems of minimum wages accompanied by measures to secure more adequate distribution of incomes; and, third, introduction of comprehensive systems of economic security providing well-defined claims to public benefits to allay the consequences of distress lying outside the sphere of personal responsibility of the individual.

The irregular cyclical swings of economic life thus stand out in marked contrast to the stability and regularity presupposed in our system of social legislation. It is evident that the enumeration of the foregoing three main types of social action assumes general causes of economic distress. The first type of action, for instance, relates to defects in the functioning of industrial organization and presupposes the existence of economic

rigidities which prevent utilization of productive elements from being rapidly and fully adjusted to changing conditions of markets. Casual, seasonal, and technological unemployment are to be listed among the most important consequences of this defect of inflexibility in our economic order.

The second line of social action, namely, minimum-wage laws and measures to secure more adequate distribution of incomes, points to the tendency of unrestricted competition to compel drastic wage reductions at the expense of the workers, as under systems of sweating, and to disorganize certain industries by overinvestment and consequent inability to run plants to capacity.

The third group of social remedies bears a casual relationship to the instability of incomes derived from manual and intellectual labor. It is also related to the various forms of economic risks resulting from this instability. Complete or partial loss of income may come from accident, sickness, temporary or permanent disability, old age, involuntary unemployment, etc. Events of this kind may cause serious and often prolonged economic distress which it is the basic and inevitable objective of social legislation to ameliorate.

What I should like to suggest is that these basic assumptions of all our social legislation are—to say the least—not wholly adequate. Social and economic distress cannot be wholly ascribed to mere defects in industrial organization, to specific shortcomings in the competitive system, capital investment, etc., or to personal and individual industrial risks of various sorts. Our social legislation, in other words, does not take sufficient account of the cyclical movements of industry. The fact is that economic development is not well balanced and steady, but represents alternating periods of expansion and contraction. Consequently, social action designed to cope with economic distress, though seemingly facilitated in periods of prosperous business conditions, is faced with difficult problems arising out of crises and more or less prolonged depressions. This characteristic feature of our economic system demands special analysis.

The world is just emerging from one of the deepest and most extended depressions experienced since the beginning of the capitalist era; the volume of economic distress and sufferings imposed by this depression on nations and individuals is far beyond any reasonable estimate—the less so is it possible to assess the lasting economic and political implications of this ill-fated period.

According to a recent survey prepared by the Secretariat of the League of Nations the world-employment index (excluding Soviet Russia) had fallen to 75 in 1932 if the last pre-depression year, 1929, is taken as basis. On the North American continent the employment index for 1932 had been as low as 62. Particularly heavy had been the decrease of employment in the industries producing durable goods. As compared with an average calculated for the years 1923–25, employment in these industries fell in the United States to 44 per cent at the trough of the depression; pay-rolls to 20 per cent. Recovery has raised the former figure to 76 per cent, and a slow but constant absorption of the bulk of the remaining unemployed can be expected in the course of the next years to come if the present trend of business expansion will prove lasting.

It is obvious that crises and depressions are much more important in creating economic distress and bringing incalculable misery on large masses of the population than are the current and ordinarily observed defects of the economic system. To put it in a different way, probably the most important cause of economic distress is, broadly speaking, the instability of our economic system.

If an attempt is made to arrive at an insight into the nature and the causes of these phenomena, two aspects of the problems involved can clearly be distinguished. There are, first, the problems connected with what may be termed the general instability of our economic system which finds its characteristic expression in the periodical alternation of prosperity and depression periods. There are, second, the specific aspects of the last depression which has swept with varying intensity over almost all the

world from 1929 to 1934, and has not yet run its course in some countries.

The extreme intensity, the world-wide nature, and the duration of this depression point to two facts, namely, that important factors have co-operated in aggravating the general instability of our economic system, and, second, that these factors cannot be sought in the specific conditions of any single country but are to be found in certain disturbing forces international in character. General economic instability has obviously assumed during the depression, and perhaps already during the preceding prosperity period, particularly serious proportions. So large have been the range of maladjustments and so cumulative their intensity that doubts have widely arisen whether our economic system may not have lost the elasticity needed for recovering from the upheaval and resulting breakdown of almost all economic relationships.

If general instability is a characteristic feature of our capitalist order and if the lack of balance inherent in this order has been intensified as compared with previous periods, our analysis of the last depression naturally proceeds along two lines: first, what are the causes that are common to all depressions, whatever may be their intensity and duration, and, second, what are the most important specific factors which have been instrumental in aggravating this particular depression.

Unfortunately we are still far from having reached a satisfactory explanation of the periodical ups and downs of business activity. I for one, too, am not in position to base my analysis on any conclusive business-cycle theory of my own. However, recent economic reasoning fortunately has made some headway in a definite line of approach to the problems involved. This particular line of approach consists in dividing, for the purpose of economic analysis, the aggregate of economic events into two distinctly separate categories. One category, which may be termed the monetary and credit system, embraces those economic relationships which can be expressed in terms of monetary units—for instance, prices, interest, profits, wages, costs,

fixed and working capital, incomes, investments, savings, debts, and the like.

The other category, which may be called the real exchange system, is understood to cover those economic relationships existing between physical economic magnitudes—for instance, between productive capacity and actual production and sales, between the volumes of the goods produced and the stocks and goods actually consumed, between the volume of employment and the number of the hands available on the labor market, and so on. Of course, both systems are closely tied up with each other in innumerable and indefinable actions and interactions.

The equilibrium of the real exchange system, the system of goods and services, is held to be marked by constant and full use of all productive factors which are available at a given economic period, including full employment of all job-seeking workers. It is obviously the ultimate objective of any consistent economic policy to secure an appropriate balance of this system which, in a comparative economy, is ruled by the mechanism of prices and by the pursuance of profit-making purposes, and is largely dependent as to its establishment and maintenance upon the equilibrium of the monetary and credit system. The latter equilibrium is supposed to imply a fairly constant and undisturbed flow of incomes and a fairly balanced relation between real savings and investments.

The balance of the real exchange system is found to be directly impaired by the changing demand for goods consequent upon the development of new wants and the abandonment of traditional ones; furthermore, what is still more important, the balance of economic life is always being affected by technological improvements resulting in the rapid obsolescence of existing plants and machinery and in the displacement of hands by mechanical implements. Such changes which form the stimuli of economic progress are constantly going on in almost all parts of the economic system. But fortunately such changes are limited to certain well-defined sectors of economic life; nor are they likely to degenerate into general disturbances of demand and

supply and into outright upheavals of the entire economic machinery.

Hence, the source of general and far-reaching disturbances of the real exchange system, that is to say of the relations obtaining between productive capacity and the volume of marketed goods, between potential and actual employment, and so forth, is to be sought in the unbalanced state of our monetary and credit system. Every period of prosperity, far from securing a constant flow of income and close adjustment of new investments to the volume of real savings, has been marked by overexpansion of credits far beyond the limits set by the volume of real savings. This overexpansion of credits at low rates of interest has led time and again to misdirected capital investments. It has meant money spent on productive machinery for goods for which there was no lasting market. And then, when credit expansion has had to be discontinued in order to bring the banking system back to some sort of liquidity, the oversupply of goods created has naturally forced a rapid fall in prices. It has meant curtailment of production in important lines of industry. It has led in turn to increased volume of unemployment resulting in the collapse of the debt structure by cessation of the regular flow of income. The common comprehensive characterization of the result has been a reduction of general purchasing power.

If, then, we are agreed that these large maladjustments in production and distribution of the goods and services of economic life are due primarily to exaggerated expansion of the monetary and credit system, it is obvious that that line of reasoning is inconsistent with the view so strongly and frequently advocated that all that is necessary, in order to restore economic equilibrium, is to increase the volume of circulating media and thereby to raise prices to their former high level. Our explanation that defects of our monetary, banking, and credit system are mainly responsible for the difficulties runs counter to the idea that the situation can be cured by general increases in wages, by pouring out lavish pensions, or by other devices for in-

creasing consumer buying power by artificial credit expansion. The reasoning underlying these proposals for curing the difficulty by raising wages and paying pensions is based on a fallacy; namely, that increased demand for consumers' goods created by credit expansion will, of itself, secure the balance between productive capacity and effective demand. The opposite is more likely to be true. Increased consumer purchasing power produced by lavish credit expansion will invariably result in rapidly raising the prices of consumers' goods. Wages which are rather sluggish in following the upward trend will lag behind prices. Profits will increase along with large price dispersions. Hastily made investments caused by short-lived upward price movements are likely to occur, and then a renewed collapse of the price and credit structure will sooner or later take place.

Let us now turn to the specific causes which have contributed to the instability of the economic system and which have made the last depression so specially severe and prolonged in duration. These causes are obviously to be traced back to the large and more significant movements of economic life resulting from the World War.

Even though the war is now fifteen years behind us, its consequences are still with us. The dismemberment of former territorial economic units and large-scale inflationistic processes resorted to by many countries during hostilities and for many years after the Armistice have meant overdevelopment of important industries in many countries. Export industries adapted to requirements of certain foreign markets lost those markets when new industries sprang up in countries which previously had been mainly producers of raw materials and consumers of foreign manufactured goods. The embargoes and the exclusiveness of the war merely enhanced the effect of high tariff barriers which even before the war had been steadily increasing. Tariff barriers have been erected, cutting across markets that previously had been open to unhampered trade. Wherever sudden dislocations of this kind have occurred, adjustment to the changed economic order has been slow. The brunt of the adjust-

ment has been largely borne by the wage-earners of these countries who have suffered by unemployment or had their wages lowered beyond any adequate standard of living.

Aside from changes in industrial development caused by the war, certain monopolistic practices in world-production were developed, such as those fostered for controlling wheat, sugar, rubber, and coffee. All these schemes were based upon a conception that food consumption is elastic and unlimited. But the opposite is the case. The requirements of food and bare subsistence are exceedingly limited, and the limit of consumption is rather quickly reached.

A third factor in unbalancing the economic life of the world has been the undermining and destruction of the gold standard. Before the war the equilibrium of world-trade was fairly well preserved by the maintenance of the gold standard on the part of the leading industrialized countries. Maintenance of the gold standard involves adjustment of movement of domestic prices in any country with the general purchasing power of a given unit of gold. This object is primarily reached by strict observation of rules that secure the maintenance of fairly rigid rates of exchange as between the units of currency of the various countries. Since the war, however, payment of international debts by the exports of goods has been rendered increasingly difficult by the obstacles imposed on international trading. Moreover, international balances of payment have been disorganized by heavy fluctuations in the transfer of capital from one country to another caused by various political events and general lack of economic stability.

The war also changed the relative debtor and creditor positions of the various countries. Before the war the large bulk of international credits was granted by Great Britain, a free-trading country which placed no obstacles in the way of goods for free import. After the war this rôle of creditor country was assumed to a large extent by the United States which, nevertheless, continued its highly protective tariff, insisted on a favorable balance of trade, and refused to receive imports of manu-

factured goods in payment for its debts. In other words, the United States insisted on receiving gold instead of goods in the payment of its obligations. Weaker countries were, therefore, depleted of their gold reserve, and resorted to rigid schemes of exchange control. Many others, like Great Britain, abandoned the gold standard. The result has been that they have been selling their products on markets abroad at lower prices than those dictated by their previous costs of production. This, in turn, has resulted in forcing down prices in the world markets and aggravated the competitive position of those countries which resisted the temptation of devaluation. Thus a vicious cycle has been in progress which has largely precipitated the world-wide fall in prices.

If the analysis so far advanced is correct, the main causes of the periodical cyclical contraction of business are to be sought in the structure of our monetary and credit systems. On the other hand, the intensity and duration of the last depression are likely to be accounted for by the specific disturbances of the international equilibrium of economic life brought about by the World War and its consequences. A new balance in the economic system of the world is now taking place. International trade and credit relationships are being changed as a result of isolated and antagonistic national economic policies.

Two important inferences, I suggest, are to be drawn from the preceding interpretation of some of the primary causes of economic distress. The first is that social action in the narrower sense of the term, mainly designed to safeguard the interests of the working classes, is unsuited to cope with the range of causes which are responsible for ever recurrent crises and depressions, their duration and intensity. If economic distress consequent upon crises and depressions is successfully to be combated, this task lies almost exclusively with general economic policy, more especially with monetary and credit policy in its national and international aspects.

The second inference applies to the selection and planning of such devices as are meant to cope with the other causes of eco-

conomic distress referred to in the first part of the present paper. Three main groups of causes have been distinguished under this heading: deficiencies in the industrial organization resulting in economic frictions of various kinds, specific shortcomings of the competitive system evidenced by the existence of exaggerated competition in certain lines of trades; finally, specific personal and professional risks involved in the economic position of almost all wage-earners.

A few remarks will suffice to show that any such distress-producing causes, along with their effects, are largely modified and highly intensified by the economic disturbances occurring in depression periods. Economic frictions are responsible for the failure of many trades to achieve maximum productive efficiency of labor. Again, economic friction produced by the introduction of technological improvements and involving the displacement of hands by labor-saving devices is not likely to endanger the existence of large masses of wage-earners when occurring in periods of rapidly expanding markets. There is much to be said in favor of the so-called "compensation theory" according to which, under competitive conditions, price reductions brought about by the application of labor-saving machinery will result in increased demand for various lines of commodities and thus provide, in these lines, new jobs for the displaced workers. Unemployment due to technological changes, however, is likely to assume appalling proportions in depression period.

Fluctuating demand for labor as evidenced by casual or seasonal employment can also be traced to economic frictions. It is obvious that any prospects of distributing productive processes more evenly over lengthy periods are likely to meet with serious obstacles when demand is falling off heavily in depression periods, and desperate attempts are to be made to bring costs into line with decreasing prices. Casual and seasonal unemployment may easily degenerate into protracted involuntary idleness when general restriction of production is attempted and when the labor market is flooded by increasing masses of job-

seeking workers. Economic friction of still another type is created by loss of markets due to changes in consumers' demand or by loss of outlets abroad due to efficient foreign competition which is eventually supported by tariff systems and similar devices.

It is equally obvious that competition over restricted markets will be more violent when a trade has been disorganized during the prosperity period by ill-considered investments. Wages in such industries, as a rule exceptionally low, are likely to experience further reductions. The same is true of trades in which unrestricted competition has resulted in exploiting the wage-earners by various forms of sweating systems. The fundamental relationships existing between the conditions of the labor market and the willingness of the workers to agree even to starvation wages need no special comment.

It follows from such and kindred considerations that the personal and professional risks which are to be borne by the individual workers are largely dependent, as to their scope, incidence, and intensity, upon the general state of business conditions. There is no doubt but that cyclical unemployment is an outstanding factor in increasing and intensifying any other forms of personal or professional risk-exposure.

Commonplace and self-evident as this statement appears to be, it is likely to provide an important directive for the planning of social action. As economic conditions creative and promotive of economic distress are rapidly changing along with the alternate course of prosperity and depression periods, social action, to be abreast of its tasks, must be so far flexible as to adjust itself to the changing aspects of economic friction, the varying forms of exaggerated competition, and the fluctuating intensity of the risks to which wage-earners are exposed. Thus considered, it seems to be a doubtful proposition to set up rigid standards for social action. Reduction of hours of work, as a means of spreading employment, may be advisable for certain industries under certain clearly defined conditions; it may prove especially helpful in combating technological unemployment.

As a general measure of social policy it is, no doubt, to be rejected. Similar considerations apply to wage policy. As a measure for reducing economic distress general wage increases can hardly be recommended. Under certain conditions wage increases may prove advisable in certain industries and wage reductions in others. Again, the effects of public works financed by heavy borrowing will largely depend upon the state of the capital market, the phase of the cyclical movement chosen for the performance of the scheme, the types of the work planned, and the volume of wages paid per unit of output. Schemes of social insurance designed to provide a minimum standard of economic security ought to be adaptable to the varying aspects of personal and professional exposure to risk, and, moreover, should be supplemented by appropriate relief schemes intended to cope with such risks as cannot be covered by insurance systems, strictly speaking.

To sum up: In an unbalanced economic system any measures taken with a view to protecting or defending the wage-earners against the evils resulting from the shortcomings of the system ought to be adapted to the specific conditions which are instrumental in creating economic distress, and as a rule, whenever distress assumes the proportions of a mass phenomenon, a well co-ordinated set of combined devices will prove necessary. Social planning, to be efficient, must be flexible planning, comprehensive planning, well co-ordinated planning.

SOCIAL VALUE OF NATIONAL LABOR BOARDS

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THE Constitution of the United States was not a document of economic democracy, for in its day only one citizen out of six had a right to vote. It was a document concerned with political but not with economic liberty. As Fisher Ames said in the Congress of 1789, "It was dictated by commercial necessity," and as Charles Francis Adams wrote a hundred years later, "Our Constitution was a triumph of property over the propertyless."

Therefore, it is not surprising that laborers still lack economic freedom and equality of opportunity for wealth and human security, and that "the carriers of water and hewers of wood" receive but a pittance for their share in our national production. Their brawn and brain have helped to build the richest nation in the world, but its rewards are not for them.

Because our laborers have been our forgotten citizens, there is need of special agencies of government, of labor boards to study their problems and to assist them toward economic freedom. Such boards must be national in their scope because forty-eight separate state boards with diverse and contradictory laws would jeopardize the competition of industry as well as the welfare of labor. In order that we may realize the need of labor boards, let us briefly survey the history of labor in the United States—its lowly station, its feeble and often fruitless attempts for betterment, and its position today, after a hundred and fifty years.

Man has a right to work; hence when jobs are not normally available, government must concern itself, for jobs mean living.

Today over fifty millions should be in gainful occupations, while sixty-eight other millions depend upon their toil. In normal times one-third are out of work about one-third of the time, and this means that one-ninth of the labor income of the nation is annually lost in a country of vast resources and needs. Moreover, about one-tenth of labor is always unemployed because for divers reasons it is called unemployable.

In time of depression unemployment reaches its highest levels, and in the present one it has conservatively varied from fourteen million in the spring of 1932 to ten million in the spring of 1936. This means the pauperization of labor, so that Harry Hopkins of the Emergency Relief Administration announced that on March 2, 1936, twenty-four millions were on relief in the United States. Increase in production, on account of technological advances, did not give corresponding employment, and hence permanent unemployment of six million is in prospect.

Our national employment policy has been as tragic as it has been wasteful. Except in times of war there has been no government guidance or control. Chance must bring the man and the job together, for an employment bureau has not been available. This means vast national losses; and they fall heaviest on the weakest of our economic citizens, the laboring class. For the laborer, a job is existence!

Wages are always of primary import to the workers. They are the measure of his standard of living. They were low in Colonial days; and although in 1811 the halls of Congress resounded with complaints about "the high price of wages," unskilled laborers then received seventy-five cents for a twelve-hour day. Alvin H. Hansen has made a study of wages from 1820 to 1926,¹ and his study indicates that wages increased during the nineteenth century about 35 per cent, but that at no time were they adequate. In 1845 shoemakers received \$5.00 a week, and printers \$6.00. At that time Horace Greeley is quoted as saying, "New York City enjoyed unusual prosperity, yet the average earnings of labor scarcely exceeded \$1.00 per week for each person sub-

¹ "Factors Effecting the Trend of Real Wages," *American Economic Review*.

sisting thereon." And women's wages were much lower—from \$2.00 to \$4.00 per week.

Paul H. Douglass in *Real Wages in the United States 1890-1926* states that from 1870 to 1914 average annual wages increased from \$397 to \$580, and although a great advance was made from 1919 to 1926, that is, from \$1,158 to \$1,309, it must be noted that the relative purchasing power decreased with the advance.

According to data of the Brookings Institution, compiled in *America's Capacity To Consume*, even in 1929, at the height of the so-called prosperity, one-fifth of our families received less than \$1,000 a year, and two-fifths less than \$1,500. In the field of distribution, according to the United States Treasury, 513 or one-tenth of 1 per cent of American families received in 1929 \$8,000,000, as much as 42 per cent of American families did receiving the lowest incomes. Today wages are one-third lower than 1929, and no one can predict the future. What if the laborers of America should lay down their tools until they are assured a living wage and some permanence? No wonder John Maynard Keynes queried, "Can we prevent the collapse of modern Capitalism?"²

Attempts have been made by legislation to secure minimum wages, especially for women, but they have been futile. At present New York and six other states that have minimum-wage laws are defending them in the Supreme Court against the charge that even "the Sovereign States" may not "restrain the right of free contract." The Guffey Coal Act, which regulated wages and working conditions was declared unconstitutional on May 18, 1936. The Supreme Court held that coal-mining was *intrastate* industry and hence beyond federal control. Employers have generally opposed all statutory wages on the ground that competition demands wages as low as possible.

The welfare of the worker depends much upon the number of hours he is employed, and when these hours are excessive he does not live, he merely exists. From Colonial times to 1861 our

² *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1932.

records show that United States' working hours were from sunrise to sunset—about fourteen hours. As today there must have been absentee owners in those days, for in 1834 the building mechanics of Boston declared, "We would not be too severe on our employers for they are slaves to the capitalists as we are to them." In 1846 a Massachusetts newspaper, the *Voice of Industry*, declared "the morals of the workers will necessarily suffer if they are longer absent from the wholesome discipline of factory life." In other places employers petitioned legislatures because "they feared the mis-spent leisure of their employees."

In 1886 the eight-hour-day movement began, and today this is generally accepted as a day's work. Often the eight-hour standard was threatened, and it required the political appeals of President Harding to make the steel industry give up its twelve-hour shift. Nevertheless, on an eight-hour shift its profits during the World War were enormous. However, shorter working hours in the future are inevitable, for there is not enough work to go around. In 1929 Henry Ford adopted the five-day week, and this movement is now well under way. Often the shorter day and the shorter week have been most efficient and with little loss of productive capacity (cf. Brookings, *Capacity To Consume*).

Another important element in the life of the laborer is the condition under which he works. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* draws a black picture of unemployment from the beginning of the republic, and during the 1820's the tale of the jobless and inhuman housing attended by crime and destitution is almost beyond words. The *Philadelphia Free Press* (August 21, 1830) tells us that "the mechanics in the cotton factories were mostly boys and girls from six to seventeen years of age, employed from daylight to dark at starvation wages while their employers rolled in wealth." In the South conditions were worse, even those of the poor whites whose lot was not much better than that of the Negro slaves.

After the Civil War labor became more conscious and started movements to organize, to bargain collectively, to strike, and

even to boycott the employer. Up to 1842 such attempts were few and far between, because they were illegal and meant prosecution for conspiracy. As late as 1908 the United States Supreme Court fined the Danbury Hatters' Union \$300,000 for striking "in restraint of trade," prohibited by the Sherman Anti-trust Act; and in 1922 in the Coronada Coal Company case the principle was laid down that a union was responsible for damages resulting from a strike or boycott. Moreover, the unions had to contend against "yellow-dog contracts" where the employee in order to secure a job agreed to shun all unions.

Because of the weakness of labor industry has been reckless of life and limb, of health and the most elementary human comforts. Before the days of the Workingmen's Compensation Act in 1902 there were few protective devices in factories, and the annual deaths and accidents were almost criminal; even at present with the Act in force in all states there are annually 23,000 deaths and nearly 3,000,000 non-fatal accidents. Then there is the menace of occupational diseases in seven hundred dangerous trades, and last, but not least, there is the specter of "industrial old age," when men are scrapped like old machines. On account of our increasing mechanization this is becoming a most serious evil, and at best old age pensions can only alleviate the problem.

Truly, in legislation for the employee the United States is at the foot of all industrial nations, just as it is at the top in legislation that favors the employer. All these factors of inequality give, as their result, human insecurity to laborers and their dependents. Unskilled labor never has a normal standard of living and never makes enough to lay something aside for a rainy day. For fear of losing his job the unskilled workman dares not exercise his right of assembly or of free speech and is, in the last analysis, a mental and physical slave to the machine.

Labor has made many spasmodic attempts to improve its lot. The first outstanding attempt was the organizing of the Knights of Labor, who after making definite advances mixed economics with politics, lost power, and gradually declined. They were succeeded in 1896 by the American Federation of Labor, whose

purpose was purely economic with a determination to keep out of politics. This federation grew rapidly and in 1920 reached a high point of 4,156,000 members only to decline during the better days of 1929 when it counted but 2,933,000 members. Under the impetus of the N.R.A. the A.F. of L. has again grown to three and a half millions, but at present it is sorely divided on the question of "craft" or "industrial" unions. The latter union was approved at its 1934 annual convention. To-day only 12 per cent of labor is organized. Labor can be blamed that it has not helped itself and especially its weaker members, for it has never seriously attempted to organize the unskilled worker. Many unions represent only the aristocracy of labor. Its fees are often prohibitive, and in practice it has ostracized four millions of Negro workers. It has done little to develop leaders, and its spokesmen are no match for those of capital.

In 1906 the A.F. of L. adopted the policy "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." In avoiding party politics it has succeeded in making the two major parties friendly. In spite of its numbers and accomplishments, the American labor movement is, perhaps, the weakest in the world. It has lacked consciousness and leadership, and in some localities has suffered from criminal racketeering. A distinct Labor Party has been proposed again and again, but only the more radical groups have attempted it; at one time it was the Independent Workers of the World (I.W.W.), and now it is a "Farmer's Labor" party. These groups have been more or less Communistic, and vocal out of all proportion to their importance.

In spite of all the battles of labor, its rank and file are still economically insecure, and the real conflict is still to come. Dr. Harrison Fagan in his recent book, *American Economic Progress*, well remarks:

There is no reason to assume that this state of insecurity is unsolvable; collective bargaining would eliminate much of this uncertainty. A system of social insurance, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, mothers' pensions and health and accident insurance would eliminate a very large portion of the remaining insecurity [p. 499].

Legislative efforts in the interest of labor have been few and perfunctory. Workingmen's compensation acts and mothers' pension laws have been the most substantial, and they are generally in force today. Many states have protective and sanitary factory laws, and in some states there are laws restricting the hours of labor. In 1920 Kansas and Colorado instituted industrial relations courts which, for a time, promised well, but their decisions were soon declared illegal because "they jeopardized the free right of contract." At this time big business, fearing legislative regimentation, introduced industrial betterment, and in all parts of the country plants were humanized, wages were improved, and in some instances workers shared even management and profit. The high spot of this co-operation was reached in the \$6.00-a-day wage given by the Ford Motor Company. Today big business is divided in its attitude toward labor: in some places the spirit, if not the law, of the N.R.A. still prevails; in others there is deliberate return to old offensive methods; at times there is co-operation with organized labor, or at least with "company unions," often the creation and tool of the employers. In 1926 there were 1,400,000 workers in 430 company unions; and in May, 1936, this number was trebled.

The economic catastrophe of 1929 brought all the disorder and injustice of our industrial relations to a head. Over 14,000,000 men and women were out of work; wages were lowered by one- and even two-thirds; the rich became poor and the poor became destitute. By the end of 1932 the nation reached the nadir of its economic life, and the very existence of the capitalistic system was challenged.

Presidential candidate Roosevelt promised to avert the threatened crisis and was elected. Six months after his inaugural, labor secured a new lease of life owing to the provisions of the N.R.A. law. These provided that industries be governed by "codes of fair competition" with minimum rates of wages and maximum hours of work, which automatically eliminated child labor. Workingmen were given the legal right to organize freely in unions of their own choice and to bargain collectively on even

terms with their employers, and this outlawed the "yellow-dog contract." The N.R.A. law became effective August 1, 1933, and within six months nearly every employer flew the Blue Eagle, the symbol of compliance, and although there were code violators, a new human standard of labor was nationally inaugurated and was in general observed. Besides codes of fair competition, a national employment bureau was proposed; railroad employees were to receive retirement pensions, and railroad company unions were outlawed.

A board was created by Congress, called the National Labor Board, to administer the law, to adjust industrial disputes, and to carry out the provisions of Section 7A of the code. Nineteen regional boards were established in large cities, and although the board had limited authority, it was a boon to labor; at the least it was a hope. In June, 1934, the functions of the board were widened, and its name changed to the National Labor Relations Board; and although its policy was to mediate whenever possible, and not to apply coercion, employers systematically challenged its constitutionality, and in many instances refused either to appear at the hearings or to accept its findings. The law was, in fact, partial to labor in that it did not penalize the coercions of organizations of labor or their agents as it did employers or their agents. Moreover, it offered no remedy against the coercion of one union against another. Because the law lacked authority, the board was compelled merely to recommend its findings, and this weakness brought about most of the labor discontent. Nevertheless, between August, 1933, and June 1, 1934, 1,270,000 workers, involved in 3,755 disputes, were sent back to work, while three-fourths of 1,326 strikes were mediated and 497 others were averted. Although the N.R.A. was no Magna Carta of labor, yet as Dr. Fagan says, "American labor gained at least temporarily almost over night what it had not been able to gain in a century."

On May 27, 1935, the United States Supreme Court declared the N.R.A. unconstitutional and labor was again disillusioned, but it had seen a vision of better opportunity, and it refused to

be beaten. It demanded a new Wagner Labor Disputes Act, and Congress, in June, 1935, complied with an Act that tried to evade the restrictions of the Constitution.

According to the new Act, a union or an employee files a complaint, and if the investigation of the regional director finds justification, testimony is taken and the employer is either exonerated or ordered "to cease and desist" from the objectionable practice. Either side may appeal to a federal judge, but with the well-known delays of the law and a judge who is likely a former corporation lawyer, what does it profit a workingman who needs a job and who is only a few weeks removed from destitution? Recently Judge Merrill Otis of Kansas City declared the Wagner Act unconstitutional because it did not apply to interstate commerce and because the Act "treats the worker as an incompetent, a ward of the United States, to be cared for by his guardian as if he were an uncivilized Indian or an emancipated slave."

At present industry has gone back to the old régime of *laissez faire*, with its rank materialism and its human greed. It would seem that economic reform is impossible without moral reform, and that social justice can only be ushered in with the two great commandments—the love of God and the love of neighbor.

This brief but stern story of labor is the best argument for the need of a workingmen's board or court, an agency created to know the problems of labor and to adjust them in the common interests of labor, of industry, and of the public. Rarely has labor in its defense resorted to violence. Often it was justified in doing so. A square deal would prevent waste as well as violence, and national labor boards would be the expression of a square deal.

We must have national labor boards, and if they cannot fit into the framework of our Constitution we must make amendments to that august document in keeping with the spirit of our government. Then will be supplied the bill of rights for the economic freedom of the masses which was not explicit in the original Constitution, but which was foreseen by our founding

fathers in the Article for Amendments. Interstate commerce has been regulated for a hundred and fifty years, and now on account of new conditions we must regulate labor and finance and agriculture and intrastate commerce for the public welfare.

The social value of labor boards to a majority of the citizens of the nation should be obvious: high wages and better standard of living; a better opportunity for education; time for leisure and appreciation of the intangible values of life, the good, the true and the beautiful. Best of all, it would emphasize what is sorely needed today, that labor is not a cog in an industrial machine, not a commodity like brick and steel, but an expression of personality because back of labor is a human person, a soul, instinct with the divine.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN MINIMUM-WAGE POLICIES

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THE American minimum wage is concerned, both in principle and in practice, with those workers who are at or near the bottom of the scale in wages, hours, working conditions, and bargaining power, and has little to do, at least directly, with their more fortunate fellow workers whose wages and bargaining power are on a higher level. This is unquestionably true in the United States, where the legislation applies only to women and minors. It is not necessarily true in Australia, New Zealand, or Great Britain, where men as well as women are brought under minimum-wage decrees and where wage minima are sometimes set so high as to become partial regulators of industry rather than mere living-wage guaranties. Our own experiment with the N.R.A., too, represented a large-scale attempt to broaden the scope of minimum-wage legislation. With these exceptions, however, it may be said that the United States has been wholly occupied, and other countries have been largely occupied, with the effort to use the minimum wage for correcting or preventing sweatshop conditions. Consequently the bulk of our discussion will center about this aspect of the subject.

Fortunately, the economic reasoning behind the minimum wage is, in its major outlines, both closely woven and clear-cut. Experience has shown that the actual minimum wage set by law for a given group of workers, say \$12 per week, is usually at or near one or both of two levels, namely, the lowest wages being paid voluntarily by the average or better-than-average firms,

or the lowest accepted community standard of wages. That is, the net effect of the law is not to set new, higher standards, but rather to lift certain groups of sweated labor up to the level of standards already prevailing. Legislation is called upon to do for the lowest-paid, most necessitous workers what they cannot do for themselves because of their lack of bargaining power. It serves to establish a "floor" for the competitive practices of industry, to set a bottom limit above which, but not below which, the free play of competitive forces may go on unhampered.

To this limited extent the minimum wage serves as a partial and inadequate substitute for labor organization and collective bargaining. Because of numerous handicaps—including lack of skill, training, and intelligence, ease of replacement, heavy turnover, unemployment, or sheer necessity—workers affected by the minimum wage always find it difficult and often impossible to build up an organization strong enough to carry on collective bargaining. To such groups the law is of vital assistance in dealing with their employers, even though it still leaves them far from equality in bargaining power.

In the final analysis the whole case for the minimum wage rests upon the police power, or the right of the state to provide for the health, safety, and welfare of its citizens. The low-wage, parasitical employer is at fault economically because he is refusing to assume the full cost of production of his commodity, and is shifting part of his labor cost to the community. Beyond this item of cost, however, are the more important matters of public health, welfare, and safety, which stand in such an obvious and close relationship to minimum-wage legislation as to require little if any explanation. Substandard wage groups form admirable breeding grounds for disease, vice, juvenile delinquency, criminality, and other social phenomena which are plainly inimical to public health and welfare, especially since their effects cannot be confined to the group in question, but inevitably spread to other sections of society as well.

Parenthetically, further sanction for the minimum wage may

well be found in the analogy between the prohibition of work at substandard wages and the abolition of chattel slavery. If the analogy be a sound one, then, the same fundamental argument which justified the abolition of chattel slavery would seem to lend sanction to the minimum wage. That argument is, of course, that public welfare, common decency, and the dignity of human life demand a bottom limit below which no human being can be allowed to fall.

But what of the unscrupulous employer who will not, and the inefficient employer who cannot, because of the pressure of competition, pay the amount set by a minimum-wage award? The former presents a very simple case. Like any other wilful law-breaker, he must be forced to obey the law, justified in this case by the necessity of protecting public health and welfare, or go out of business. The case of the employer who cannot pay the minimum wage, on the other hand, is not quite so simple, though still subject to clear-cut analysis. If the inefficiency which prevents him from paying the required wage is traceable to himself, then through displaying greater energy, ingenuity, or intelligence he must increase his efficiency or be driven out of business by his more successful competitors. He has maintained himself in business only by compensating for his own shortcomings as a business man through the exploitation of his workers, and this practice society can no longer countenance.

If the workers are inefficient, then they, too, must be brought up to a higher level of efficiency or be put out of the industry. That is, if the productivity of some workers is so low as to fail to measure up to the bottom wage set by law, those workers must be improved or displaced. In some cases improved efficiency will come with the more adequate nourishment and greater physical energy made possible by the increased wages themselves. In other instances a brief period of inexpensive rehabilitation, financed through private charity, public funds, or free clinics, will be sufficient to restore impaired vitality and productive capacity. For the residuum of employees who are so far below normal, either physically or mentally, that they can

never be brought up to the level of productivity demanded by the minimum wage, low as it is, the only recourse is to take them out of industry and recognize the obvious fact that they never should have been expected to earn a living wage. Means of support for such persons might come from several sources, including old age pensions and other types of social insurance, funds for handicapped groups, and institutional care.

Fortunately, however, experience has indicated that under ordinary conditions the minimum wage is by no means a major factor either in driving employers out of business or in depriving workers of their jobs. In both instances its influence is overshadowed by, though entangled with, far more powerful economic forces, such as technological changes, cyclical fluctuations, and tariff obstructions. But suppose that certain marginal or submarginal employers actually are driven out of business by a minimum wage, as undoubtedly may happen at times—can society afford to allow them to be driven out? Quite clearly, yes. In fact, the more pertinent question is whether society can afford not to drive them out, for their expulsion represents not a social and economic loss, but a distinct gain. The business which they had been doing will now be thrown into the hands of their abler competitors, who will thus be enabled to operate on a larger scale and consequently to reap the advantages of large-scale production. Not only can the total volume of goods required by the consumers from a given industry be furnished by the more efficient firms alone, but it can be furnished at a low cost because of the combined advantages of efficient management and large-scale production, rather than because of wage-cutting policies which deliberately evade part of the cost of production and force labor or the community to assume it. In one case, low costs are the result of efficiency; in the other, of sweated labor.

In sum, then, it appears that in actual practice the award made by a minimum-wage board for a given industry is seldom high enough to cause any serious volume of dislocation among either employers or employees, and that the amount of dis-

placement which does occur is more likely to result in public benefit than in public injury.

Another question which must be faced is to be found in the familiar dilemma between the need of the worker for a living wage and the ability of the industry to pay that wage. The difficulty lies not only in the apparent conflict between these two concepts, but also in our inability to formulate accurate and objective definitions of them. What is a living wage? And what is the ability of an industry to pay wages? Fortunately, however, in spite of the well-known difficulties and complications raised by these questions, we are not entirely helpless in dealing with them. Our answers, in terms of expenditure studies and budget estimates, may be only rough approximations, but they are by no means unworkable.

Let us assume, then, that we can establish a defensible living-wage figure for the employees of a given industry at a given time and place. Now we must face the second question: How does this figure compare with the ability of the industry to pay? But the question in that form is too broad and general. Whose ability to pay is in doubt—that of the poorer employers, that of the better employers, or that of all employers? If the inability to pay is confined to the first group of inefficient or unscrupulous employers, then, as indicated above, their possible demise may not only be regarded with equanimity, but may actually be looked upon with favor. Not only their competitors, but also their customers, their workers, and society at large can in the long run get on better without them than with them.

But what if the inability to pay a living wage is said to extend to the better employers as well, and thus to include the entire industry? Here a carefully drawn bill of particulars is required, for it is vital to differentiate between mere claims and actual facts. Just why, precisely, do employers feel that they are unable to pay the required wage, and what would happen if they did attempt to do so? Would labor costs rise by the full amount of the increase in wages? Not necessarily, for a certain percentage of the increase would be absorbed by greater efficiency

of the workers themselves, caused by greater energy and regularity, smaller turnover, less breakage, and other factors. In the low-paid, sweated labor affected by the minimum wage this matter of increased personal efficiency is usually an important one, but even so it would probably not be sufficient to overcome the entire wage increase. Some net increase in labor cost, therefore, might well remain.

Would this prove ruinous to the employers? Again not necessarily, for it might be spread out over one or more of several major factors—improved business management, lower profits, wage reductions for the higher-paid workers, or higher prices to consumers. The proportions in which these various factors might be utilized as shock absorbers would vary, of course, from industry to industry and from time to time. If, as is probable, higher prices proved to be the most common outcome, they would not have to be raised in the same proportion as the net increase in labor costs, for labor costs are, after all, only one part of the total costs. Thus a 20 per cent net increase in labor cost might be reflected in only a 10 per cent increase in total cost and in price, and from a social viewpoint even this loss to the consumers in higher prices would be offset by the gain to the producers in higher wages.

Only when all these possibilities had been exhausted, therefore, would employers face losses serious enough to be interpreted as real inability to pay a living wage. Such conditions, of course, are by no means imaginary, though fortunately far from common. In fact, it is much more likely that employers of low-grade labor will pay less than they can pay in terms of productivity of the workers than that they will be called upon to pay more than they are able to pay. Realization of this fact has caused recent legislation, notably the New York statute which gave rise to the well-known Tipaldo case, to stress the concept of a fair wage, based upon the actual ability of an industry to pay more than it does pay, as well as the concept of a living wage based upon the need of the worker.

But let us suppose that a given industry is so situated that it

really would be virtually wiped out by the enforcement of a minimum-wage law, and that consequently we must make a fundamental choice between the industry and its workers. If we seek to protect the workers by means of a minimum-wage law, we shall destroy the industry. If we protect the industry by allowing the continuance of sweated labor, we shall sacrifice the interests of the workers. Which is the choice of wisdom? The answer becomes clear enough, it would seem, when we examine the rather close analogy which exists at this point between the theory of the minimum wage and the theory of international trade; for we are concerned here with a "lame-duck" industry, one which is so poorly adapted to its environment, which has such a low grade of business management, and whose products yield so little utility to their consumers, that it can neither reduce its costs nor raise its prices sufficiently to enable it to pay a wage scale which the ordinary industry in the same region sets voluntarily and without serious question. In other words, such an industry can continue to exist only under cover of a subnormal wage scale, just as a "lame-duck" industry must hide behind tariff protection. In both cases the cost to society of maintaining them under these conditions is more than they are worth. Even if we make full allowance for the hardships, losses, and unemployment of a period of transition, it still remains true that in the long run a distinct gain will result from transferring both capital and man-power of such industries to other occupations for which they are better adapted. Sound economic principles and sound social policy agree in pronouncing the death sentence upon them, even though for reasons of expediency, inertia, or national policy that verdict may not actually be carried out.

Nor is it possible to defend another proposal for saving them—a subsidy in aid of wages. A policy of subsidizing wages would constitute a formal acceptance of the principle of industrial parasitism, under which certain industries would not be expected to shoulder their own costs of production in full, and it might well be the signal for an epidemic of wage-cutting. In

addition, the same evils of political favoritism, corruption, lobbying, and log-rolling which have played such a prominent part in the history of our tariff legislation would result. As a possible alternative to the minimum wage, the subsidy in aid of wages is definitely undesirable.

But is the minimum wage always an unmixed blessing even to the workers? What of the often-expressed criticism that "the minimum becomes the maximum"? There is, of course, always that possibility; but both principle and experience agree in the inference that the danger is not serious except in times of depression, when the pressure for wage reductions is greatly intensified all along the line, and when the resistance offered by the minimum wage at the bottom probably increases the pressure upon the higher-paid groups. There is evidence to indicate that this happened in some industries, for instance, under the N.R.A. But even where it does occur, the minimum wage is only one element in a series of powerful forces making for wage reductions among the better-paid workers, and it is at least an open question whether, if reductions must come, it is not sound social policy to allow the burden to press somewhat more heavily upon those higher in the wage scale in any case. As for normal conditions, there is relatively little evidence to support the contention that the minimum becomes the maximum as well. The workers whose wages have actually been raised to the new minimum may not be able to get any more, it is true, but without the law they would have had even less. Employers who have been paying more than the new minimum for the same grade of labor are not likely to reduce their wages because their competitors have been forced to raise theirs; and the constant tendency of the higher-paid groups to maintain their wage differentials over the low-income groups can be counted upon to offer vigorous resistance to indiscriminate wage-cutting in the upper ranks of labor.

So much for the American minimum wage as it is and has been. What is to be said of its capacity for growth, of its possibilities for becoming a more potent and far-reaching influence in

our national economic life? Two major potential lines of development are clearly indicated—to broaden its base and to raise its level. Broadening the base would require the inclusion of all workers, men as well as women, in all industries; and it would involve emphasis upon productivity as well as need, upon the fair wage as well as the living wage, in the determination of earnings. Raising the level would lift the minimum wage from the cellar to the first floor of our present wage structure, and thus render the cellar uninhabitable. The net effect of this double process of broadening and lifting would be to promote the minimum wage from the position of antisweating legislation to that of a regulator of industry, a means of achieving an appreciable redistribution of purchasing power, and a major vehicle of social reform. Useful hints in connection with these possibilities may be gleaned from Australasian and British experience, from the N.R.A. experiment, and from the illuminating difference between the dissenting opinion in the *Tipaldo* case and the majority ruling in the *Children's Hospital* case.

The major question for the future, then, is this: Can and should the minimum wage be transformed from an antisweating measure into a regulator of industry? That way lie many baffling and largely unexplored problems of unemployment, of rigidity of wage rates, of stabilization of purchasing power, of business-cycle fluctuations, and of price determination; but that way lie also far greater fields of social and economic usefulness for the minimum wage.

MINIMUM WAGE: HOME WORKER AND UNION WORKER

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HOME work is always an elusive subject. It does not readily lend itself to neat columns of figures. Moreover, experience with home work in relation to a minimum wage is limited in the United States. The general attitude toward applying state minimum-wage laws to home workers has been (1) that it was impossible to enforce a minimum wage where workers are so widely diffused, (2) that the position of the minimum wage before the courts was too uncertain to risk arousing the antagonism of employers by attempting to apply it to home workers, and (3) that there were so relatively few home workers that it was not very important. Under the N.I.R.A., however, the problem of payment for home work had to be faced.

In considering home work under the N.R.A. a careful distinction has to be made between those codes which directly prohibited or regulated home work and those which sought to control home work by means of a minimum wage. Of the 556 basic codes approved by the N.R.A., 118 contained home-work provisions, 101 of these prohibiting home work altogether.¹ Several industries deliberately set special piece rates for home workers which yielded less than the minimum time wage for factory workers. Only the lace industry made a genuine effort to enforce the same minimum rates for home as for factory workers.²

¹ O. W. Rosenzweig, *N.R.A. and Industrial Homework* (Office of the N.R.A., Division of Review) (mimeographed), p. 35.

² U.S. Children's Bureau, *Industrial Homework under the N.R.A.* (unpublished manuscript).

The experience of this industry alone, therefore, is of value in connection with our subject.

By the terms of the Lace Code a minimum wage of \$13 for a week of forty hours was fixed for all employees, the definition of an employee being construed to include home workers. There was no direct prohibition of home work. It being impractical to attempt enforcing a time rate among home workers, a piece rate was set. In order to discover what piece rate would yield the amount of the minimum time rate to home workers, every mill distributing home work was instructed to bring 10 per cent of its "average" home workers into the factory for a week and to record their rate of speed. Obligatory piece rates were based upon these tests.

To insure compliance every person doing home work was required to register and to sign an agreement that he would not accept work at a piece price yielding less than $32\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour, which was the code rate, and would not work more than forty hours per week. Manufacturers and contractors were required to obtain weekly receipts from each home worker showing the kind and amount of work, the number of hours, and the pay received, and to file with the code authority each week a certified copy of their pay-rolls containing the names and addresses of each home worker, together with the number of hours worked. Child labor was also prohibited. The code provisions, of course, included all states in which lace was manufactured, Connecticut being one.

The Lace Code had been effective less than two years when the N.R.A. was declared unconstitutional. This is too short a period in which to expect either employers or employees to become completely reconciled or adjusted to changing such a long-established custom as home work in lace-making. Nevertheless, the volume of home work decreased greatly during the life of the N.R.A.³ Investigators of the Department of Labor reported in the summer of 1934 that "it was difficult to locate persons en-

³ U.S. Department of Labor, *Industrial Homework in the Summer and Fall of 1934* (A preliminary report to the N.R.A.) (mimeographed).

gaged in homework in sections where they were once all along the street."⁴

This decline in the number of home workers was largely the result of increased piece rates, which rendered factory work more economical to employers. In some cases increases amounted to as much as 300 to 400 per cent.⁵ Earnings of those remaining in home work increased proportionately, that is, where there was compliance with the code minimum. And investigation indicated that the required piece rates were being paid during the summer of 1934.⁶ According to this same study which was made less than a year after the piece rates were set and only about four months after enforcement machinery was put in motion, between 22 and 26 per cent of the families studied doing thread-drawing and 49 per cent of those engaged in lace-cutting and -splitting, earned \$10 or more per week.⁷ Contrast with this the sample of Connecticut families working on lace at home, only 7 per cent of whom earned \$10 or more per week in November, 1933.⁸ Notwithstanding such a material increase in earnings as is thus indicated, the piece rates were too low to bring the earnings of home workers up to the required hourly minimum. This is shown by the fact that more than 80 per cent of home workers doing thread-drawing still earned less than the code rate of 32½ cents per hour.⁹ A considerable proportion of the home workers visited also reported working fifty and more hours per week instead of the prescribed forty hours. And 8 per cent of those investigated were under sixteen years of age, though the number of children employed had materially decreased since the inauguration of the Lace Code.

On the whole, however, there was a distinct net gain in regard to each of these factors under the operation of the minimum wage. In fact, earnings of home workers in lace-finishing reached a higher level than obtained in any other home-work

⁴ U.S. Children's Bureau, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁷ U.S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 44.

⁹ Connecticut State Department of Labor, *Homework in the Connecticut Lace Industry* (mimeographed), p. 16.

industry except leather glove-making,¹⁰ which is a skilled and relatively well-organized industry where a union agreement relative to home workers exists.

The chief difficulties encountered in applying the minimum wage to home workers were (1) establishment of an adequate piece rate and (2) false reporting. The first of these could, and in time surely would, have been overcome by means of an official statement as to who the "average" worker is, supported by official supervision of the tests. False reporting can be checked only by adequate inspection, which among scattered home workers is largely dependent upon complaints from labor organizations.

Whether it is attempted flatly to prohibit home work or to control it by establishment of a minimum wage, the matter of evasion has to be dealt with. In either case strong labor organization is an important factor, though not necessarily organization of home workers. In this connection it is significant that the only industry having a home-work problem in which it may be said that prohibition of home work under the codes was really successful was the men's clothing industry. There had already been a long struggle over home work, and it had been abolished in the Rochester and partly in the Chicago markets some years previous to the N.R.A. as a result of an agreement between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the manufacturers.¹¹ The code extended this prohibition to cover the entire industry, and the Union has maintained this gain even since the end of the N.R.A.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the code experience with control of home work through a minimum wage, therefore, seems to be that it was remarkably successful, though at the time of N.R.A.'s dissolution it had still far from reached the goal. Given a longer period of adjustment, a more general application of the minimum wage, readjustment of the piece rates, and more adequate enforcement, especially of inspection, aided

¹⁰ U.S. Children's Bureau, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

by labor organizations, control of home work by means of a minimum wage gives great promise for the future.

Apparently heartened by the action of the Lace Code authority, the state of Connecticut undertook to establish a minimum-wage board covering home workers in the lace industry of that state. Connecticut is the only state which has thus far undertaken to apply its minimum-wage law to home workers. A directory order was issued in March, 1934, fixing the same minimum time rate, viz., \$13 per week of forty hours for thread-drawing in the state of Connecticut, as was prescribed in the Lace Code. Piece rates were also established, and other provisions were included in the order governing the hours of home workers and the conditions under which home work should be issued.

On July 1, 1935, a new home-work law became effective in Connecticut. This Act virtually abolishes home work by requiring certification of all home workers and providing that the wage paid to home workers shall not be lower than that paid in the factory for similar work. Recently an agreement has been made between the state department of labor and the lace employers allowing payment of \$13 for a forty-four-hour week to factory employees. The effect of this agreement is to make rates for home workers higher than those for factory workers in lace, and consequently tends further to discourage home work. In fact, a recent authoritative letter from Connecticut states that home work has now ceased to exist in the Connecticut lace industry.¹² Thus, the Lace Code minimum wage, the state minimum-wage law, and the industrial home-work law plus administrative measures taken by the state department of labor have jointly operated to abolish home work in the lace-manufacturing industry of Connecticut within a period of about three years.

For longer and more complete experience with minimum-wage legislation as a means of controlling home work let us turn to Great Britain. The situation regarding home workers there was deplorable in 1906. Wages ranged from 1½*d.* per hour for

¹² Letter from Morgan R. Mooney, Deputy Commissioner of Labor, May 18, 1936.

the hot and heavy work of hammering chain, to perhaps as high as 3*d.* or 4*d.* per hour received by the most skilled home workers in the London tailoring trade. The Sweated Industries Exhibition of 1906 brought his matter to public attention. And in 1909 the British Trade Boards Act was passed. This Act provided for the fixation of legal minimum wages in four industries where home workers were most grossly underpaid. These were lace-finishing, tailoring, chain-making, and paper box-making. Although these boards proceeded cautiously, results proved sufficiently ameliorative to warrant inclusion of nine other low-paid industries in 1913. And in 1918 a new Act was passed according the boards much wider latitude and extending the Act to cover any "inadequately organized" industry. Forty-seven boards now regulate the wages of something like three million male and female workers in Great Britain. These cover practically all home workers except glove-makers, who are well organized. Not only is there no question that the minimum wage has come to stay, but it is considered perhaps the most successful and smooth-working piece of social legislation yet tried in Great Britain.

Home workers are represented on the board for every industry in which home workers are employed. It is the policy of the boards to establish the same minimum wage for home as for factory workers. In cases where home workers supply tools, materials, or a workshop, as in the chain industry, higher rates are allowed to home workers than to those working in factories. Generally speaking, minimum rates apply throughout the whole of Great Britain, but in a few industries where there are many local shops, as in the clothing trade particularly, differential rates are fixed for various sections of the country. Wherever possible, minimum piece rates yielding at least as much as the general minimum time rate are fixed for work done at home. This simplifies inspection.

From the beginning enforcement has been efficient and fearless. No question of constitutionality being involved, it has been clear from the start that the government meant business.

Consequently, the great majority of employers and workers have co-operated with the government in rendering the Act effective. In highly localized industries such as chain, lace, and others, the job of enforcing has not been difficult even among home workers. In more scattered industries it has been necessary to rely largely upon complaints from organized workers interested in maintaining their own wage standards for clues as to violations of the Act. The government has prosecuted violators in relatively few cases. Collection of arrears is most often done by negotiation, but amounts have been large enough, in one instance amounting to \$20,000, to convince most employers that the risk of prosecution is not worth taking.

Earnings of those home workers now employed have increased from 300 to 400 per cent and even more in the case of skilled workers. General minimum time rates now applying to home workers range between 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ d. per hour with the British cost of living considerably less than in the United States. The quality of work sent out and, therefore, the skill required and the rate of pay, especially in the clothing trades, have distinctly improved. The conditions under which such work is done are notably more sanitary and more safe. Home work still exists in most of the home-work trades, but in the British view home work, properly controlled, is socially preferable to the evasion and the hardship that complete abolition might bring.

Although the minimum wage has played an important part in the diminution and control of home work, the entire credit can by no means be attributed to its operation. The home-work law regulating the conditions under which home work can be done has naturally had some effect. Mechanization of industry has also been an important factor in making home work unprofitable to the employer as well as the minimum wage which has worked in the same direction. Various other forms of social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, health insurance, old age and widows' pension, have at the same time helped to remove the necessity and, therefore, the incentive for women to accept home work. Special circumstances or the depression

have contributed to the diminution of home work in certain industries. But on the whole the decline has been too general, too gradual, and too great to be entirely accounted for by falling markets. To the minimum wage, therefore, must be accorded a large part of the responsibility for bringing about what is considered a satisfactory situation with regard to home workers in Great Britain. Lack of time prevents giving you relevant figures.

American conditions differ in important respects from British. Yet there are certain things which we can learn from their successful experience. Among these are: (1) the efficacy of a psychological approach, (2) the value of tolerance, (3) the importance of strong labor organization, (4) the necessity for efficient and fearless inspection, and (5) the fact that under favorable conditions a minimum wage does operate as an important factor in the control of home work.

Unquestionably, the trade-union has served the minimum wage well in Great Britain, but what has the minimum wage done for the organized worker? First, it has increased the number of organized workers. Establishment of a minimum wage in all trades before the war was accompanied by a marked enthusiasm for organization. The membership in a union covering the tailoring industry increased 200 per cent between the time when the board was established and the war. In 1914 there were 1,700 organized women chain-makers and 1,000 organized hollow-ware workers. while in 1908 just prior to the establishment of a trade board, there were almost none. Substantial increases in union membership also occurred among women workers falling within the scope of the Sugar Confectionery, Shirt Making, Lace Finishing, Paper and Tin Box boards. Because men workers were already better organized, establishment of trade boards helped the organization of women more than of men. The chief incentive for joining the union was to obtain representation on a board and to assist in getting an increasingly high minimum rate.

In the protracted period of bad trade since 1921 all unions have lost members whether or not they were connected with a trade board. Certain organizers argue that the effect of a guaranteed minimum wage has been to make workers believe membership in a union is unnecessary. But others think that the trade board gives a means of approach to workers, and that the work of unions in securing arrears of wages due to workers has good propaganda value.

Actually the results upon organization have been very much influenced by special conditions in an industry, by general economic conditions at the time a board was set up, and by the use to which organizers have put the establishment of a minimum wage. It seems fairly clear that the minimum wage has, on the whole, tended toward increased union membership, though the results have not been so marked over a period of time as experience with the pre-war trade boards portended.

Another way in which the minimum wage has affected the union worker is by putting a bottom in the wage structure. Though there is a considerable difference between the lowest minima fixed for different trades, the tendency is to level up and to stabilize these bottom wage rates. This ought, *a priori*, to render wage negotiation by trade-unions somewhat easier in both trade board and non-trade-board trades. But it is customary for British minimum-wage boards to establish minimum rates for different classes of workers. Thus, instead of fixing one basic minimum time wage, a minimum for each occupation is often fixed and, frequently, piece in addition to time rates.

A third way in which establishment of a minimum wage has assisted the trade-unions is by providing a means of educating workers in wage negotiation. British trade boards vary in size from fifteen to eighty-three members. Thus, a number of persons actually working in each industry have seats upon the board. Although a trained negotiator is usually designated as spokesman for the workers' side in the formal board meeting, other representatives have ample opportunity to express themselves in the side meetings and, by sitting upon the board, ob-

tain a practical understanding both of the technique of wage negotiation and of the major problems facing both employers and workers in their industry.

We have neither sufficient experience with the minimum wage nor a sufficiently strong labor movement in the United States to indicate what a minimum wage might do for the union worker. Probably the best example of the influence of a minimum wage on organization is in the District of Columbia where a marked increase in union membership occurred in the binding and laundry industries, as well as among retail clerks, during the operation of the Minimum Wage Act—1918 to 1923. An agreement providing for higher-than-minimum wage rates was also concluded in the bindery industry following upon establishment of a minimum wage. As in Great Britain, this situation was conditioned by a favorable time for organization and by the activity of the energetic and intelligent representative for the workers who sat upon the district board. This experience suggests, at least, what might occur even in the United States, given favorable conditions.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THIRTY-HOUR WEEK AND STIMULATION OF INDUSTRY

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THE question of shortening the work day by international agreement to forty hours per week has been under discussion now almost six years. In the meetings of the International Labor Office almost the whole of its proceedings last year was devoted to this question, and in the big volume containing the minutes we find all the arguments pro and con. Reading it, we will see that the employers resisted any general provision reducing the work day. The main reason for opposing this measure was that, with wages per day remaining equal, costs of production would increase. From that they concluded prices would increase and sales would drop. This argument implies, as you see, a flat denial of any influence on the market of increased purchasing power. On the other hand, the workers' delegates and some of the representatives of governments maintained that this measure would not only reduce unemployment by sharing labor but would increase production if average weekly earnings remained the same.

There the argument stood, and it appears that the theoretical basis of one's thinking determines one's opinion as to the consequences of this matter. Still I want to try to examine this question for a while. First of all, I want to remind you that all the historical comparisons are of little avail. The reduction in the work day as it took place during the nineteenth century by scaling down from an unlimited length to ten and later nine and eight hours was not a device for reducing unemployment. On the contrary, the main argument for this reduction was that a shortening of the work day improved the worker's health and

strength which, in turn, increased the worker's ability and efficiency so that he produced at least as much as formerly. The nineteenth century did not have to deal with the problem of unemployment but, on the contrary, was concerned with whether the economic system could produce enough. Experience showed, in fact, that the shortening of the work day did not reduce the output per worker, even in fields of production where machinery did not play any part. Now if, at the present time, we could expect that the output per worker in forty hours would be as great as in forty-eight hours and if further we expected that his wage would remain unchanged, then evidently the whole measure couldn't result in increased employment. The only consequence of it would be that the workers already employed would have more leisure time at their disposal. Thus we are confronted with an entirely different problem, in the solution of which we cannot draw on the experiences of the nineteenth century.

The reduction of the work day in the stimulation of industry offers two alternatives: first, wages are reduced parallel to the reduction of the work day, or, second, wages are maintained. In both cases we assume that the output per hour does not change. In the first case the total wages' bill, as well as the output, remains unchanged, and the only consequence of such a measure is sharing the total volume of work among a greater number of workers. But the volume of production would not increase, and the income of the average worker would shrink. I have no doubt that, when this measure was proposed the first time in the trough of the depression, the trade-unions and the workers did not expect that such a reduction in weekly earnings per worker could be avoided. But still they stood for this measure, and I consider that always as a sign of the great solidarity between the workers and the realization that even a reduction of the weekly earnings may be acceptable in view of other advantages with which I shall deal later.

In the second case, where average weekly wages are maintained, the total wages' bill will increase while the total output

does not. That should lead, in the beginning, to a reduction of profits on the one hand and to greater earnings of the workers' group on the other hand. If profits should not be invested, while wages would be spent, the active purchasing power would increase. Therefore, increased production would depend upon how an increased purchasing power works. If one believes that injecting purchasing power is favorable, then this reduction of the work day, while maintaining the weekly earnings of every body employed, would be, too. In general, such a measure would work as payments to the unemployed with the difference that those who pay would be the employers and not the state. From that again it follows that the state would be called upon to make up for the difference in the wages' bill in cases of marginal employers. This would work as payment of a dole, with the differences that the number of workers in employment would be greater and consequently the psychological status of the workers improved. Much will depend upon when during the depression this measure would be taken. But it appears that in the latter case shortening the work day would have consequences similar to other measures for reducing unemployment and, therefore, would be defensible.

If, however, the average efficiency of the workers per hour should increase, then naturally the aims of this measure would be to some degree defeated. But there are two points yet that, in my opinion, shift the balance for this measure decidedly to the positive. First, a large unemployment always entails a great insecurity for the single worker. Even with increasing efficiency of the worker during depression, everybody is threatened with dismissal. The existence of the huge army of unemployed is, therefore, in itself a steady pressure upon the wage level. If, therefore, through using the shorter work day the number of unemployed workers decreased, this pressure would be reduced and the certainty of the workers to remain in their jobs would be improved. I think that is the main reason why, apart from their solidarity, the German trade-unions five years ago made this question a point in their platform.

Second, the reduction of the work day increases the leisure time. For European countries the forty-hour week would mean a real week-end, and even in this country a reduction would probably change some ways of living. You can assume that the demand for small farms in order to grow one's own vegetables would spread, and that many commodities that are now not within the field of the workers' demands would be bought, especially means of transportation such as automobiles and bicycles and all the implements for horticulture. To this point Mr. Hedges, the workers' adviser, hinted in the Geneva proceedings of the general discussion. He mentioned that the motor-car industry especially would be interested in such a measure of increased leisure, and one could easily believe that it would. But the question is whether this increasing demand for special commodities does not mean only a shifting of purchasing power from one field to another and, therefore, benefiting one industry while damaging others. That, at least, seems to be the common opinion of economists. And still the argument of the motor-car industry is right, though that is somewhat puzzling. But that belongs to the second problem of stimulation of industry.

The question whether a shifting of demand entails an increase in total production has been very little discussed so far. Most economists believe that such a shift of demand cannot increase purchasing power and, hence, production. But in our field it frequently happens that two multiplied by two is not four but five, maybe in other cases three, and the notion that the purchasing power during a certain period is constant, is, to my opinion, wrong. May I give one example that contains in a nutshell the whole question. Let's assume there is a very cold winter. As soon as the mercury drops down, the coal mines, knowing that the demand will increase, will take on more workers. Now most economists believe, as I formerly did, that that would not make any difference for the total output because the people in the cities who spend more now on coal will have less money at their disposal for other commodities. Thus what the coal miners, the

workers included, may receive in addition to their former earnings, other producers will lose. The whole production, therefore, will be the same as before. Now I think that this argument is wrong because it does not take into consideration that the money put into additional production in the coal mines will be spent by the workers. They'll buy commodities that now can't be bought by other consumers. Thus, evidently their purchasing power will replace the reduction in the purchases of other consumers. The net result is, therefore, increasing employment. The fact that people in the cities have to spend more money for coal does not reduce the employment in other spheres of production apart from the coal mines. The total production in this case evidently increased. You can even say that the "psychic" income of every consumer increased because now to enjoy a warm apartment during the cold spell means more to him than to go without some of his usual consumptions. Now certainly this whole situation will be somewhat different because probably many of the consumers will draw upon their savings in order to maintain their usual consumption. Other differences may be noted, too, but all that would only strengthen our argument because then not only the additional coal miners but also other workers, who will now produce for the additional coal miners, would come into employment.

There is only one point which may bother some hypercritical economists, namely, whether the circulating medium would either increase in quantity sufficiently or circulate quickly enough so as to offer the monetary basis for the greater turnover. But I can assure you, and I hope you believe, that without any further analysis, in this situation at least, the monetary supply is a shadow of production and not the reverse. So it happens that, in this case, the simple man on the street is right who believes that a heavy snowfall is, by grace of God, a benefit to the unemployed while doing no harm to the employment of anybody else. And skeptical economists who believe that in such a case as many workers are thrown out of business as are

additionally employed in such an emergency, unless inflationary and, in the long run, detrimental measures are taken, are wrong.

Now I think the situation is the same in case a new commodity is produced that deflects purchasing power from its usual channels. If this new commodity does not satisfy necessities that were formerly satisfied by other commodities, which incidentally were produced by the same workers who will produce the new commodities, an increase in total employment will take place. Apart from the fact that new factories for this new commodity will have to be set up, even after this temporary employment has ceased, the production of the new commodity will employ workers, the wages of whom will then buy the commodities or equivalents of them that now can't be consumed by the former consumers. When, for instance, the production of bicycles started, the middle-class people and later the workers spent millions on this commodity. In this case, if the incomes had remained unchanged, the people would have had to restrict their usual consumption. But that didn't mean that any other production had to be curtailed, as the new workers and entrepreneurs producing those bicycles came to the market with exactly the same purchasing power that the old consumers couldn't defray any more through the former channels. The network of production and consumption was, one might say, enlarged. A new ring of production was laid around the old body of production and interwoven with it. Here again the monetary question to which I alluded before comes in, but is solved automatically.

I suggest that in many former depressions the building-up of new branches of industry helped toward a quick recovery and that the discovery of new commodities, therefore, though they may be useless from a Puritanic point of view, may play an important rôle in our economic system. They especially help in overcoming the frictions that are in the way of a continuous growth of our economic system. I think that the nineteenth century, with the advent of railways, telephone, telegraph, electric cars, cosmetics, and so on, compared very favorably with

the present time when innovations of this type became rare. From this point of view, by the way, the productivity of business propaganda for new commodities becomes apparent.

When I propounded this argument once, an economist objected by saying that, if that were true, one would need only to deflect the necessities from one channel of consumption to another one. I accept this argument with the one restriction that I'd suggest he omit the word "only," because deflecting purchasing power from the usual channels is extremely difficult, especially in the light of the fact that the bulk of the purchasing power is spent for necessities, and in the workers' incomes certainly not more than 10 per cent is available for other ways of spending.

As there are no new industries in which to invest and in which to expand to a great degree, the question is how we can add new units of production to the existing system. There are frictions against an all-around growth especially during a depression. I think the existence of backward regions in this country should be considered a promising way out, which in my opinion, could be substituted for the lack of a new product. To conclude, I think if there were prospects for new industries, these would stimulate employment more than the shortening of the work day and, on the other hand, would contribute somewhat to the same end as the workers with the shorter work day who will change the ways of their consumption. But both measures, I want to say, are limited in their results. They are not at all a panacea for solving the problem of depression with which we are confronted.

INCREASING CONSUMER DEMAND

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THE term "consumer demand" may be used in two quite different ways: first, it may be regarded as consumer desire—as a description of what consumers would purchase or order under various given conditions; second, it may be understood as meaning effective demand, or a description of what consumers actually do acquire by purchase or by production at home. In this second sense, consumer demand is virtually synonymous with the more precise phrase, "consumer takings."

1. FACTORS INFLUENCING EFFECTIVE CONSUMER DEMAND

In theory consumer takings depend upon three factors, and variations in consumer takings are the resultant of variations in three sets of variables: first, the income of the population; second, the prices of goods and services; and, third, the eagerness of the population to spend their incomes or to purchase beyond their incomes and go into debt.

Of these three factors, the last named is under ordinary circumstances the least important, and may be ignored except in two special situations. When the money of a country is depreciating with great rapidity, as in Germany during 1922 and 1923, eagerness to spend one's income is markedly accelerated, and people rush to stores and shops at the first available moment after receiving a pay envelope. The other special situation of somewhat similar type occurs when, as a result of some technological or environmental change, people desire to increase their purchases of goods which are durable and of large-unit cost and for this reason go into debt. The most important case of

this type in recent years was the unprecedented demand in the 1920's, as a result of the development of the automobile, for vehicles, houses, and household furnishings. Examples from earlier periods are the unusually large demands for the same types of goods which have accompanied mass movements of population into unsettled territories.

It is commonly believed by business men that the eagerness of people to spend may be intensified by advertising campaigns, and that from time to time consumers indulge in "buyers' strikes." The opinion is also sometimes expressed by certain monetary theorists that occasionally consumers hoard their incomes instead of spending them, or that families save larger portions of their incomes at some times than at others.

That spending by specific individuals is more or less erratic is of course true—as, for example, when a person permits the greater part of his income to accumulate for several months or a year and then spends the entire accumulated hoard in a few weeks abroad. However, such statistical evidence as is available indicates that for the population as a whole the rate of use of income for consumption, except in the two situations which I have mentioned, is remarkably stable. The belief that eagerness to spend is a variable is probably due to a failure to recognize the difference between the character of consumer spending and the character of business spending, and to the erroneous assumption by business men that consumers' spending habits are like the spending habits of business concerns.

Effective consumer demand, or consumer takings, is, then, primarily a function of the two variables—income of the population, and the prices of consumers' goods and services. Increased consumer takings result from gains in individual and family income, or from reduced prices of consumers' goods and services. Decreased consumer takings result from reductions in individual and family income, or from rising prices of consumers' goods and services.

The total volume of consumer takings in a year, it may be noted, is always approximately equal to the total volume of

production of consumers' goods and services. Occasionally stocks of some types of consumers' goods accumulate on the shelves of retail dealers and in the warehouses of manufacturers. However, a very large proportion of consumers' goods and services cannot be stored, and changes in the inventories of business concerns are chiefly in the form of materials and supplies.

Of all the consumers' goods and services produced in the late 1920's, approximately one-third were taken by the families with incomes of \$5,000 or more (including single individuals with incomes of \$2,500 or more), comprising 8 per cent of the entire population. Another third of the total consumers' goods and services available were taken by families with incomes from about \$2,200 to \$5,000, comprising 30 per cent of the population. Thus the families with incomes under \$2,200, comprising over 60 per cent of the entire population, took only one-third the total volume of consumers' goods produced and consumed.

II. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES AND CONSUMER TAKINGS

It will be almost universally agreed that the chief goal of national economic policy should be to raise the standard of living of the people of the country, which is the same as saying that the chief aim of governmental economic policy should be to bring about an increase in consumer takings. Upon this objective people of all shades of political opinion are agreed. The major activities of the New Deal—A.A.A., N.R.A., P.W.A., Civil Works, W.P.A., T.V.A., Resettlement Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, the various attempts to develop a housing program, monetary policies—these have all been designed to aid in reviving business and in raising the standard of living of the population.

It will also be agreed by the great majority of the population that, in attempting to increase consumer takings, special attention should be paid to the needs and desires of the 60 per cent of the population which even in the prosperous 1920's took only one-third of the total production of consumers' goods and serv-

ices. This also has been proclaimed to be the aim of the present administration.

During the past three years the federal government has approached the problem of increasing consumer takings, particularly by the masses of the population, from three directions. The principal approach has been from the side of money incomes. Heroic efforts have been made to increase the incomes of three great classes of population: farmers, wage-earners, and the unemployed. To increase farm incomes the prices of farm products have been raised; to increase incomes of industrial and clerical workers great pressure has been brought to bear upon business enterprises to raise wages or at least to pay minimum wages; and to increase the incomes of the unemployed and the destitute millions of jobs have been created and billions of dollars paid out in direct relief.

The second approach to the problem of business revival and consumer takings has been from the side of the general price level. Monetary policies have been designed to raise prices, on the theory that any general increase in prices stimulates business, increases employment, expands the incomes of individuals, and in consequence increases consumer takings.

The third approach has been from a direction opposite to both the other two. The activities of the T.V.A., the rural electrification program, and the foreign-trade agreements have been designed to reduce the prices of consumers' goods and services, and thus directly to stimulate consumer purchases.

The effects of this triple approach have been confusing. On the one hand has been a marked success with the price-reduction and production-stimulation policy of the T.V.A. The kilowatt hours of electricity sold for domestic use within the region affected by the T.V.A. have increased since 1933 at a more rapid rate than in the rest of the country. There has also been a substantial increase in consumer takings of certain types of goods and services. Winter sales of automobiles are larger than in any other year except 1928-29. Attendance at vacation resorts has been large, and travel is at the highest level in many years. On

the other hand, consumer takings of food and of commodities commonly sold by department stores and other retail merchants have increased but little since 1933. Dollar sales have jumped, but when dollar sales are compared with price changes, it appears that there has been only a very moderate increase in the volume of sales.

The heroic efforts to increase the consumer purchases of the masses of the population by increasing the incomes of farmers, wage-earners, and the unemployed have in fact been largely nullified by higher prices. The reason for this failure is the fact that production, particularly of those classes of goods used by the entire population, has been restricted rather than stimulated. To increase the prices of farm products production was curtailed. To enable business men to pay higher wages, or at least minimum wages, they were permitted, under the N.R.A. to raise prices and to reduce output. In providing jobs for the unemployed the production of marketable commodities has been deliberately avoided, on account of the downward pressure which such production would exert upon prices.

Consumers cannot take what is not produced. Regardless of how much incomes are increased, there will be no increase in consumer takings unless the production of marketable commodities is increased. What effect the increase in consumer incomes has had upon consumer takings has come because the combined efforts of the government, trade associations, and monopolies have been unable to prevent production from increasing. Those efforts, however, have succeeded in preventing the millions of urban wage-earners from raising their standard of living significantly. The near-poor, through higher prices and consumption taxes, have supported the destitute and have swelled the profits of business interests. The wage-earning classes are working harder than they did in 1932; they are producing more goods and services; there may be fewer among them who are completely destitute—but taken as a group they are obtaining little more in actual goods and services than they did at that time. They are probably eating less food; their hous-

ing has not improved; their clothing is not significantly better; and while the evidence is not entirely conclusive, it appears that they have acquired few of the luxuries or semiluxuries of life.

III. SUGGESTIONS FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENTAL POLICY

Both logical analysis and observation of the effects of the policies hitherto pursued lead to the conclusion that if governmental policies are to be genuinely effective in increasing consumer takings—particularly by the masses of the population—those policies must be dominated by one idea. That idea is the stimulation of production, either directly or by aiding in the reduction of prices.

But how and where? Just what goods and services should the government select in an effort to reduce prices and to stimulate production? What would be a rational, consistent, and effective program for increasing consumer takings?

The program which I wish to suggest has four main parts. The first part of this program is a frontal attack on housing costs, with the definite aim of cutting those costs by at least a third—by a half if possible.

To make any substantial reduction in housing costs, it is necessary to deal with all four of the major phases of costs: materials, labor, site, and financing. Attention must be given both to single houses and to multiple dwellings, and to dwellings designed for sale and to those designed for rent. As a means of reducing materials and labor costs, two procedures may be suggested: (1) establishment of a federal government agency for experimentation in design and construction, and (2) negotiations with trade-unions, building contractors, and subdivision developers to find some way of organizing housing construction so as to provide full-time employment and a guaranteed annual wage in exchange for modification of practices which now prevent adoption of the most efficient methods of production. The agency for experimentation in design and construction should study carefully the costs and quality of various types of mate-

rials, experiment with new methods of construction, and encourage by prizes and in other ways such experimentation on the part of builders.

To reduce site costs it may be suggested that this same agency study the costs of subdivision development with a view both of reducing costs and of improving quality and character. Studies should also be made of land tenure, in order to develop types of land tenure adapted to modern urban and suburban life. We should encourage the formation of housing companies which will own all the land and houses in a community or subdivision, and lease the houses for short or long terms to residents, with more attention to playgrounds, parks, and other community features than is now given by subdivision developers. Half of the families in the country rent their dwellings—and it is this half of the housing facilities of the nation which most need improvement. Owners of land in blighted residential areas should be encouraged to pool their holdings by exchanging their deeds and mortgages for stock in a land-holding and development company. Such a procedure would make possible careful planning and modernization of large residential areas without the excessive costs attendant upon the assembling of many small parcels through purchase or through condemnation by public authorities.

To reduce the financing costs of housing it is desirable to organize the money market, and to consolidate the risk. Dwellings individually constitute a great risk to those who finance them because of changes in neighborhoods, the decay of communities, and the continual shifting of population from one part of the city or country to other parts. These risks need to be consolidated through some type of insurance. It is doubtful whether this consolidation of risk has been sufficiently accomplished through the present mortgage-insurance plan of the Federal Housing Administration. Besides, the consolidation of risk must be accompanied by a substantial reduction in rates of interest. There is no economic reason why interest rates on

housing should not be reduced to a total cost to the home-builder of 4 per cent a year, provided proper reduction of the risk can be obtained through adequate consolidation or insurance. Taxation on residential property also needs to be reduced, since too large a portion of the nation's taxes are levied upon home owners, or included in house rents.

The second part of the program which I would propose for increasing consumer takings relates to urban transportation facilities. The extensive development of paved roads in recent years has met rather well the problem of mobility from one part of the country to another. But millions of people spend many hours in congested city traffic. Mobility within urban areas may be placed next to housing as the great opportunity to use our idle labor and productive power to make a genuine improvement in the standard of living of the population.

To meet the problem of urban mobility, three types of action are necessary: (1) development of arterial streets with as nearly complete separation of cross traffic as possible; (2) development of adequate parking areas in business centers for persons parking their cars more than an hour or two, so as to take off the streets a large proportion of parked cars; and (3) replacement of obsolete equipment of street-railway companies.

I do not wish to suggest that the federal government should engage directly in these developments, which are essentially functions of city governments, or even to make grants-in-aid or loans for these purposes. The rôle of federal agency in this field is to aid in the preparation of plans, and especially to aid in finding ways and means of making such developments self-supporting and thus to make their financing possible through ordinary channels. It is entirely feasible, for example, for merchants to form associations for the development of parking areas accessible to their stores, and to find ways of enabling a trolley company to scrap its obsolete equipment and to buy modern cars. A federal agency with a staff of competent engineers and economists, and a few men with sufficient imagination to see

how knotty problems of land tenure and finance can be handled, could wield a tremendous influence without the expenditure of huge amounts of federal funds.

The third phase of the program I wish to suggest for increasing consumer takings is a fact-finding survey of the end products of the economy, including in end products all types of goods and services produced for the use of consumers and all additions to the productive equipment of the nation. This survey would include detailed estimates of both the value and the quantity of consumer takings each year, during the past decade, of each item among the end products—that is, each type of food, clothing, recreation, new buildings, etc. The survey would include studies of changes in the prices of such goods, and changes in quantities produced whenever production varies from consumption. It would also cover changes in the quantities of the various types of goods and services taken by families and individuals in the major economic classes and income strata.

Careful analysis of the results of this survey would provide answers to such questions as these:

1. What parts of our productive system have been failing to function in recent years? What types of end products were being made in the late 1920's by the men who are now unemployed?
2. How would consumer takings, in these lines where production has fallen off, have been affected by price reductions? Were they lines in which a genuine saturation point was reached in the market? Or were they items for which sales volume could have been maintained by reducing prices and thus tapping the lower-income strata of the population?
3. Are costs such that prices can be reduced and production still be profitable? Can costs be cut enough to permit price reductions which will restore sales to their former volume?
4. Is production of these items being restricted by monopolies, trade associations, price agreements, or by government interference?
5. What have been the trends in the character of consumer demand? For what other items, besides those affected by depression, might the demand be increased, as a result of reduced prices?

On the basis of this analysis a selection would be made of various items of consumers' goods and services on which to concentrate in the policy of price reduction and of stimulation of pro-

duction. For each of these items a special program of action would be developed. Many items besides the two previously mentioned—housing and urban transportation facilities—would undoubtedly be found of which the production would respond to stimulus.

The fourth phase of the program I wish to suggest for increasing consumer takings is a resumption of the policy of aiding the unemployed to produce goods and services for their own use. The relief administration has estimated that the cost of providing a given standard of living for the people on relief can be very greatly reduced by the policy of production for use; but this policy, which at one time was advocated by the relief administration, has been abandoned. In suggesting the resumption of this policy I am not advocating a general system of barter, or the use of scrip—but simply proposing that W.P.A. projects, so far as possible, be devoted to the production of goods and services useful to and desired by people on relief. The goods and services thus produced could be distributed separately from cash benefits, or from wages paid on the projects. Their distribution would, however, permit some adjustment in scales of pay, as well as improve the standard of living of people on relief.

OBJECTIVES AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND OLD AGE PROVISIONS OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

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THE Social Security Act embodies a program aimed to provide safeguards against many, but not all, of the major hazards of life leading to dependency and destitution. From the standpoint of the numbers of persons affected, the magnitude of the problems, and the total cost involved, the provisions of the Act designed to afford protection against unemployment and old age dependency are of overshadowing importance. However, the Act recognizes no less than seven other types of need. It attempts to meet these needs chiefly through the device of federal grants-in-aid to the states. While varied in nature these grants for specific purposes are designed either to relieve dependency through provision of money income to those in need, or through the establishment of services to prevent and correct the conditions which lead to dependency.

Four of these grants-in-aid are for the purpose of affording greater security and welfare to children. These include, first, grants-in-aid to dependent children for the purpose of helping the states to pay what is commonly though erroneously known as mothers' pensions. The federal government agrees to pay to each state with an approved plan an amount equal to one-third of the sums expended by the state in providing monthly payments up to \$18 a month for the first dependent child and up to \$12 a month for other children in the same family. Second, provision for maternal and child health services is made by

grants-in-aid to the states to be administered through the Children's Bureau. The annual sum appropriated, \$3,800,000, will be used exclusively for carrying out state plans and furthering and strengthening health services to mothers and children, particularly in rural areas and areas suffering from severe economic distress. Third, medical care and other services for crippled children are provided for under the Act by annual appropriation of \$2,850,000. Most of this sum is to be paid to the states on a fifty-fifty matching basis to be used exclusively for carrying out an approved state plan. Fourth, a federal appropriation of \$1,500,000 is available for grants to states "for the protection and care of homeless, dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent."

These four provisions for child welfare differ radically in their nature and purpose. The first and most important provision aims to provide regular monthly income for the support of dependent children through a federal appropriation not specifically limited in amount but sufficient each year to carry out this purpose under the terms of the Act. The remaining three provide small fixed annual appropriations for the purpose of aiding the states in providing health and welfare services for children.

In addition to these four provisions for the security and welfare of children a fifth provides a federal appropriation of \$3,000,000 for the current fiscal year, and appropriations of such amounts as may be necessary in future years to provide pension payments to needy individuals who are blind. The Act contains further important provision for the extension of public health services through an appropriation of \$8,000,000 a year. Allotments to the states are to be made by the surgeon-general of the Public Health Service, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the basis of population, special health problems, and financial needs. While this authorization is in line with well-established federal policies, it represents a great extension of federal participation in services aimed toward the prevention of preventable sickness. Finally, the Act provides an annual appropriation of slightly less than \$2,000,000 to be distributed as

grants-in-aid to the states for the extension and strengthening of programs for vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled.

The objective of these provisions of the Act is self-evident. Their significance lies not in the acceptance of the idea of community responsibility for dependency, delinquency, and destitution, for this responsibility has long been recognized by state and local government units. But the recognition of federal responsibility for what has always been regarded as a purely local, if not, indeed, an individual problem, constitutes, for the United States, a significant and new departure.

What are the prospects for attainment of these objectives? In the first place, it is clear that the offer of federal funds should make it easier for the poorer states to provide more adequate and regular aid to the needy and handicapped than has hitherto been within their power. Moreover, the administrative provisions of the Act and the legal and moral influence of the responsible federal agencies can be expected to promote greater harmony and uniformity in standards of state administration. In acknowledging these probable beneficent results, however, there should be frank recognition that the Social Security Act in its present form does not clothe federal agencies with enough power to make certain the actual attainment of these objectives. To those who appreciate the fact that even a good law will fail in its purposes without honest, intelligent, and efficient administration, the provision especially exempting the "selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel" from any federal influence is a source of considerable misgiving. The obviously political character of many of the appointments thus far made increases the likelihood of disappointing results in the practical application of the state legislation.

Another serious defect in the program is that, although the Act requires that a state plan for payment of mothers' pensions or other types of aid to individuals will not be approved unless it is state-wide and mandatory upon all political subdivisions, there is no means of assuring either that all eligible persons in

the state will receive pensions or that those on the pension rolls will receive adequate minimum amounts. In other words, no minimum standards as to coverage or adequacy are laid down as conditions to the receipt of federal aid. The provisions of the Act bring no pressure on the states to increase or even to maintain their present appropriations for these purposes. In theory federal grants make it possible for the states to increase by 50 per cent their payments for dependent children and to double the total amount of pensions to the blind without additional cost to their own taxpayers. But there is no assurance that some states, under pressure of fiscal difficulties, may not instead merely maintain existing standards and shift a third or half of the present cost to the Federal Treasury. Irrespective of the amount of the pension payment to the individual—whether \$3 or \$30—and irrespective of the number of eligible persons on the waiting list wholly without aid, the federal government stands ready to match the state payment. Granting the difficulties which would be encountered in establishing any enforceable standards as to adequacy and coverage in a federal-state co-operative system it seems inevitable that some method must be devised for establishing a national minimum below which aid to those in need will not be permitted to fall.

Significant as are these various welfare provisions of the Act to the individuals affected by them, compared with the provisions for old age security, they are of minor importance in terms of money cost and surely in terms of popular interest. The belief in the necessity and the faith in our ability to provide security in old age have become one of the most widely held social doctrines in America today. These universal aspirations have been dramatized in fantastic form by the Townsend Plan and its millions of followers and embodied in more sober fashion in the Social Security Act.

Old age security is provided for in the Act by two entirely different methods. The first involves an extension of the principle of the federal grants-in-aid to the states in unspecified amounts for the purpose of paying pensions to the needy aged.

The federal government will match state funds on a fifty-fifty basis for the payment of pensions up to a maximum of \$30 per month. Since the federal government contributes as much as \$15 but no more it is reasonable to suppose that \$30 will be the maximum individual pension payable in most states. It is possible that in the case of many aged couples each will qualify separately so that they may receive up to a maximum of \$60 a month per couple. Although the Act implies that payments are to be made only to the "needy aged," no standard means test is prescribed. The administration of the pension system and certification of pensioners will be primarily the responsibility of the states with only a minimum of federal supervision.

The promise of federal funds has already resulted in the passage of additional state pension laws and in the amendment of existing legislation to bring it into conformity with the requirements of the Social Security Act. The expected expenditure for the first half of 1936 is more than three times the total amount paid by the states for old age pensions in the entire year 1934, and the number of pensioners will be from three to four times as large as the number covered in that year.

The second method provides for the establishment of what is in effect a national compulsory old age insurance system operated by the federal government without participation by the states. This surprising departure from the tradition of state responsibility for administration arose from a conviction on the part of the framers of the Act that non-contributory old age pensions financed out of general revenues would ultimately involve too great a drain on public resources. The federal insurance system, which is designed to be self-supporting, will be financed out of compulsory contributions paid by the workers and their employers in all but certain excepted industries. Contributions or taxes under this plan commence next year at the rate of 2 per cent on wages of \$3,000 a year or less, of which half is to be paid by the worker and half by his employer. These taxes rise by gradual increases until they reach a maximum of 6 per cent in 1949 and thereafter. Thus the typical worker earn-

ing \$100 a month will pay an income tax of \$12 a year at the outset and of \$36 ultimately, and his employer will pay like amounts.

In spite of the fact that taxes commence in 1937 no retirement benefits or pensions are payable until 1942. Commencing in that year workers in the occupations covered by the Act who are over sixty-five years old, who were employed in each of the five preceding years and whose total earnings after December 31, 1936, have been at least \$2,000 will be entitled to receive retirement benefits if they give up gainful employment. These benefits, unlike the payments of non-contributory pensions under the federal-state plan will be paid as a matter of right and in accordance with past earnings rather than as charity on the basis of need. The amount of benefit payable will vary widely depending upon earnings and years of employment before retirement. Monthly payments will vary from \$10 to \$85 although the maximum sum will not be payable for many years and then only to those who have earned at the rate of at least \$3,000 a year over a period of forty-three years. Thus the maximum pension will not be payable to anyone who is now more than twenty-two years old; and of those younger than twenty-two, only the relatively few who will be steadily employed at earnings of \$3,000 or more per year will be eligible to a retirement payment of \$85 a month.

Indeed, in spite of the heavy taxes under the insurance scheme, the average benefits payable for many years to come will be nearer the \$10 minimum than the \$85 maximum. A worker now sixty years of age who works steadily for the next five years and earns at least \$3,000 each year will be entitled to \$25 a month if he retires at sixty-five. If his annual earnings were only \$2,000 his pension would be \$21 a month, and if he earned no more than \$1,000 a year he would be entitled to less than \$17 a month. Of the \$1,000 level, which is not far from the average earnings of American workers, a man would have to be employed steadily for twenty-one years to be entitled to \$30 a month or the maximum amount payable, at least theoretically,

in most states under the non-contributory plan. Hence the contributory system does not promise anything like adequate security even for the average single worker if he is now more than forty-five years of age, and only those in their early twenties can hope to build up a retirement benefit sufficient to support themselves and their wives at a minimum standard.

Few students of social insurance, even among those who actively participated in the preparation of the federal legislation, regard the Act as offering an ideal or final solution to the problem of providing adequate care for the aged. The Act was framed to attain the two objectives of providing immediate relief for those already aged and destitute and of establishing a permanent systematic method for financing the retirement of superannuated workers in the future. The difficulties of the task were increased by the fact that the program was initiated in the midst of a severe depression with its heavy burden of relief financing and by the prospect of an inevitable increase in the proportion of old persons in the population and, therefore, in the future costs of providing security for them. As a result of all these factors it was inevitable that the legislation would be unsatisfactory from many points of view. But in considering its shortcomings it should be recognized as a real achievement and a foundation on which a satisfactory structure of old age security may eventually be built.

An analysis of the social and economic effects of the old age provisions of the Act involves consideration of the extent to which the aged of the nation will, in fact, be covered by its provision, the adequacy of the benefits to be paid, the cost of the program, and the sources from which funds to pay these costs will be obtained. Clearly the old age assistance section of the Act rather than the insurance provisions will have to carry the major burden of old age security for many years to come. For the next five years it will carry the full burden since retirement benefits under the contributory system will not commence until 1942, although a relatively small volume of death benefits will be payable before this date. After that for another fifteen or

twenty years for the lower-income groups which constitute the vast majority of workers, the contributory benefits payable will be so small that they will have to be supplemented by old age assistance granted on the basis of needs. Moreover, the old age assistance on the needs basis must permanently provide the only security available for the millions of persons not gainfully occupied.

All in all, about two-thirds of the entire adult population will be permanently outside the contributory system and will, therefore, be dependent for security in old age on their own savings, on relatives and friends, or on old age assistance granted under a means test by the states. So far as the old age assistance provisions are concerned, they are subject to the same criticisms as the grants-in-aid for dependent children and the blind. Although federal aid should make it easier for the states to maintain and improve the care of their aged, there is no assurance that it will have this effect in all cases. Regardless of the actual coverage of qualified persons within a state and regardless of the adequacy of pensions paid, the federal government stands ready to share the burden with the state. The fact that the Act does not provide a device by which the federal government can exert pressure on the states to insure minimum standards as to coverage and adequacy, is regarded by many as a serious defect.

Entirely aside from the uncertainty as to the amount of pensions and the conditions controlling their payment under the old age assistance plan, and the obvious inadequacy of benefits under the contributory system, the disparity between the amounts theoretically payable under these two plans raises serious social and political questions. It seems highly improbable that these two systems can function side by side without creating a widespread dissatisfaction resulting in pressure for legislative changes.

The anomalous situation created by the existence of these two systems becomes even more striking when their costs and methods of financing are considered. Old age assistance, which it is estimated will cost about a billion dollars annually within ten

years, to be shared equally by the states and the federal government, will be financed out of general revenues, at least in so far as the federal contribution is concerned. To support this part of the program no special taxes are imposed on either workers or their employers. The contributory system, on the other hand, in spite of the inadequate benefits which it provides is to be supported entirely by means of special taxes assessed against employers and employees. Still more significant is the fact that for many years to come by far the major portion of these sums collected from workers and their employers will not be paid out currently in benefits to those reaching the retirement age but will be permitted to accumulate in a reserve fund which is calculated to reach the enormous total of nearly forty-seven billion dollars by 1980. During the initial period up to 1942, while no retirement benefits will be paid, the amount accumulated in a reserve will be nearly three billion. In the single year, 1943, more than one billion will be collected in taxes but less than one hundred million will be paid out in benefits.

Obviously the principal reason for the inadequacy of benefits payable under the contributory plan in the face of the heavy taxes imposed is the fact that taxes during the next two or three decades will be used primarily to accumulate a reserve fund rather than to pay benefits. If they were used exclusively to pay current benefits there could be a considerable reduction in the tax rate or an increase in the benefits paid, or both. Under such a "current cost" or pay-as-you-go system pensions and tax revenues would approximately balance each year. The reserve system was resorted to in an attempt to avoid the inevitable increase in the cost of caring for the aged which would result from the fact that the number of old persons in the population is increasing in much more rapid rate than the younger persons who would have to pay the pensions.

The fund is to be accumulated not to pay benefits but as a permanent investment in government securities in order to produce interest which will pay part of the future annuities. This looks like a just and handsome provision for future workers, but

it is in fact a mirage. For who "hires the money" from the reserve fund and pays interest on it? The government. And how does the government raise the money to pay the interest? From taxation. The interest on the fund will remain an annual charge. Future generations will pay 60 per cent of the cost of their current annuities out of pay-roll taxes, and they will pay the other 40 per cent in the form of taxes to pay interest on the reserve. All this simply means that there is no escape from the "current cost" system. Each generation will have to meet the cost of pensioning its own aged out of its own income each year, and it makes little difference whether the taxes it pays are used directly for pensions or to pay interest on a reserve fund which in turn contributes to the cost of pensions. In connection with the inevitable necessity for each generation to meet currently the cost of caring for its aged, it is important to realize that the burden of an increasing proportion of old people will be offset by a decreasing proportion of children. The total problem of dependency, therefore, including the children and the aged will remain about the same. Future generations, therefore, who will have fewer children to support will be able to afford to allocate currently a larger portion of their income for the support of the aged.

The social and political dangers of accumulating an enormous reserve have been pointed out many times. More important than the accumulation of the reserve is the incidence of the taxes required to support the plan. These taxes are based on the assumption that the workers can afford to contribute to their own security through their own savings, and they will be forced to save at least 3 per cent of their own wages. The Act does appear to recognize that the workers cannot provide entirely for their own security, for it requires an equal contribution from their employers. But there is every likelihood that a pay-roll tax paid in the first instance by the employer, like a sales tax paid by the seller, will be shifted either to the consumer in the form of higher prices or back to the worker in the form of lower wages. It appears, therefore, that the workers will bear most,

if not all, of this burden either in the form of a direct tax or a reduction in wages or in higher prices for the goods they consume. In so far as the pay-roll tax is shifted to the consumer, those workers who will not benefit from the insurance system will also be compelled to contribute to its support.

An appraisal of the social effects of these taxes involves an inquiry into the extent to which the workers can afford to make these contributions without sacrificing unduly their present standard of living. The study of *America's Capacity To Consume*, recently published by the Brookings Institution, showed that, even in the prosperous year of 1929, 59 per cent of the families in the United States had less than \$2,000 a year income. This group accounted for only 1.6 per cent of the total savings. These sixteen million families with less than \$2,000 were able to save on the average only \$16 per family in that prosperous year. A 3 per cent tax on a \$2,000 income will enforce a saving of \$60 a year or nearly four times as much. This deduction which might be looked upon as enforced saving represents a reduction in purchasing power which will be still further impaired by an increase in prices resulting from an increase from the shifting of the pay-roll tax paid by the employers. These families can be made to provide for their old age but obviously not without a sacrifice of their present standard of living.

The failure of the great majority of families to provide for their old age, if the Brookings findings can be accepted, is due not to improvidence but to poverty. If this is true, it is highly questionable whether security in old age is worth the sacrifice of health and decency or even comfort in earlier years. This raises the serious question as to whether taxes of this type should be relied upon exclusively or even largely to provide security in old age for the low-income groups in our population. It should be recognized that all the costs of the old age provisions are not new. The old are now being cared for after a fashion, and these costs are being borne by someone. The plan represents, therefore, a mutualization of existing costs plus a program for more adequate care. It is obvious that these additional burdens

should be financed as far as possible without impairing incomes and standard of living of the poor.

What changes are necessary in the provisions for old age security if the program is to attain its avowed objectives? Since it is clear that the major share of the burden for security to the aged must be borne by old age assistance for many years to come, it is essential that some means be devised to insure the establishment of satisfactory standards as to coverage and adequacy of payments. In effect this means that the federal government should be empowered to enforce such standards if necessary by the threat of withholding grants to states which fail to provide for all those in need and to pay at least a basic minimum to those on the pension rolls. If it should prove to be politically undesirable to leave the establishment of these requirements to the administrative discretion of a federal agency, a formula might be written into the law whereby the minimum total grant on the part of each state, which would be a prerequisite to federal aid, could be computed on the basis of statistically determinable facts as to population or number of old persons as established by the census.

In the last analysis the extent to which the grants-in-aid to states—in which category all but one of these provisions here discussed belong—will achieve or fall short of their objectives, will remain largely a question of state fiscal programs and taxation. Most states willingly acknowledge the objective; the problem is to find the money. The social effects of the program will be largely affected by the types of taxation resorted to. In fact, one of the results of the Act will be to increase the consciousness of the need to study and develop a tax structure which will bear these social costs without undue and misplaced strains. The Act is a real step forward, but social security remains largely a problem which the states must help to solve.

SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

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IT IS generally agreed that unemployment compensation is the most satisfactory means of providing a limited degree of protection to the great mass of wage-earners against the hazard of unemployment. Studies of the operation of the system in England and other countries indicate that it provides sufficient protection to tide the great majority of workers over between periods of unemployment without recourse to public relief. It is, however, a principle of unemployment compensation that it can be extended only to workers who customarily are regularly employed.

All problems relating to unemployment compensation, certainly as far as this country is concerned, are as yet unsolved. These problems fall within two major headings: (1) what kind of law should a state enact and (2) how should this law be administered. The provisions of the federal act leave a very wide discretion to the states in determining the kind of law which they will enact. The principal feature of the federal law is, of course, a uniform tax upon pay-rolls against which credits are permissible if employer has made contributions to a state unemployment compensation plan. This provision is designed to make it possible for states to set up unemployment compensation systems without placing an extra burden upon employers within the state, and to remove the principal objection to unemployment compensation which has been raised in this country heretofore in the consideration of state legislation. In order for

the state plan to qualify for the allowance of credit against the federal tax, it must meet some simple conditions, but these conditions are few in number and are designed to assure that the state has enacted a bona fide unemployment compensation law. It is required, for example, that the state fund must be used exclusively for the payment of benefits, that the money must be deposited in the Federal Unemployment Trust Fund, and that unemployed workers who are eligible for benefits shall not be denied benefits for failure to accept work if the position is vacant owing to a trade dispute. The state is left free to determine the type of law which it will enact, the scale of benefits, the conditions of eligibility, the waiting period, how claim procedures will be handled, and, in general, the administrative features of the law. The federal policy was deliberately designed to encourage experimentation by states in different types of laws. Lord Bryce once said that one of the greatest features of our federal system of government is that the states may conduct experiments on a small scale which would not be possible under a central form of government. This country has had no experience with unemployment compensation. If there is any place where experimentation is desirable, it would seem appropriate for a new system of social insurance such as this. Eventually we may go over to a national system of unemployment compensation, but by setting up state plans at the outset with some federal assistance and supervision we stand to secure a much needed degree of experimentation before policies are definitely crystallized.

The principal issue which states face in considering unemployment compensation legislation is the type of law which should be enacted. I refer to the state pooled fund type of law, such as New York and most of the other states have enacted, or the individual employer reserve type of law which Wisconsin adopted in 1932. Each of these types of law has its advocates in this country. Each type has certain merits and defects. It is worth while to note that unemployment insurance in other countries has been of the pooled fund type. The advantages of

the individual employer reserve system are that it provides a strong incentive to employers to stabilize employment, and thus to reduce the payment necessary for unemployment benefits. Under this type of law each employer has his own account, and if he lays off his employees, they are paid benefits from his account. After he accumulates the prescribed reserve, he may reduce or even discontinue further contributions so long as the reserve is maintained at the amount specified in the state law. The responsibility for unemployment is placed squarely on the shoulders of the employer. This type of law emphasizes prevention rather than compensation. Its advocates maintain that it is possible to achieve a considerable degree of stabilization of employment. Those who are opposed to the employer reserve type of law point out that the benefits which an employee may receive depend entirely upon the adequacy of his employer's reserve account, which, in irregular and seasonal industries, will be constantly exhausted or so low that only very small benefits may be paid. If the employee is employed in a stable industry or a well-regulated firm, he may be sure of receiving benefits when he is unemployed, but if he is less fortunate and is employed by a poor employer or in an irregular or seasonal industry, the protection afforded him is very small. Opponents of the employer reserve type of law also argue that it is impossible to stabilize employment because the factors which govern employment and unemployment are beyond the control of the individual employer.

Those in favor of the state-wide pooled fund plan argue that it provides greater protection to the employee for his benefit rights are not contingent upon the account of a particular employer. All contributions under this plan are paid into a state-wide fund, and any employee who becomes unemployed draws benefits from the general state-wide fund. It is asserted that this provides a true form of insurance while the employer reserve type of law is based upon the principle of savings to build up a reserve rather than insurance. The principal opposition to the state pooled plan is that it requires all employers to pay at

the same rate regardless of their rate of unemployment. This, it is said, makes the good employer carry the burden of unemployment caused by the bad employer. Practically all the state laws which have been enacted in this country to date provide for merit ratings in the future, whereby employers will be classified according to their rate of unemployment under a system of differential contribution rates. Merit ratings in this country will also be an innovation in unemployment compensation. How they will work out no one knows. If merit ratings were established on strictly actuarial bases, there would be little difference between the state-wide pooled fund plan and the individual employer reserve plan, but it is unlikely that the merit rates will be refined to that extent. Under the federal act the state must wait until 1941 before attempting to set up any merit ratings. At least this much time is necessary to determine what the experience of the employer really is.

Most of the states have adopted the pooled fund plan because of the greater protection which it gives to the employee. Only three states, Wisconsin, Utah, and Indiana, have adopted the employer reserve plan, though Oregon and California have made provisions whereby individual employers may maintain separate accounts if they meet the conditions specified in the law. The Indiana law provides that one-sixth of all contributions shall be paid into a state reinsurance fund to be used in case the employer's individual account is exhausted. This problem of type of law is probably the greatest unsolved problem in unemployment compensation. The majority of experts are in favor of the state pooled plan, because it provides the maximum protection to the employee. They believe that through merit ratings the advantages of the employer reserve system can be secured and employers be encouraged to stabilize employment. The advocates of the employer reserve type of law, however, stoutly defend that system and have the support of many employers, particularly in stable industries. This is a problem which we cannot settle by debate. Only experience will indicate which form will work most successfully in this country.

Another unsolved problem is financing of unemployment compensation. Unemployment compensation deals with a major economic factor—that of unemployment. The total wage loss of the workers of this country from unemployment has amounted to nearly ten billion dollars annually for the last several years, and in more normal times will probably continue to amount to as much as five billion dollars annually. It is impossible to cope with this enormous wage loss by any system of compensation, insurance, relief, or otherwise, without a very large outlay. The cost of unemployment compensation in this country will run between five hundred million and one billion dollars annually. Under the federal act it is anticipated that the great bulk of this cost will be carried by the employers, that is as it should be. In European systems the cost is commonly borne jointly by the employer, the employee, and the government. Half of the states in this country adopting unemployment compensation provided for employee contributions and half did not. Only one law, that of the District of Columbia, provides for any contribution by the government out of public funds. There are equally cogent arguments both for and against employee contributions. In favor of employee contributions it may be said that they will permit the paying of more adequate benefits and will give the employee a greater interest in the system and, consequently, a greater voice in its management. Those who oppose employee contributions point out that the employee cannot pass his contribution on to the consumer, as can the employer, but that the employee as a consumer will pay the great bulk of the contributions paid by the employer. It is also said that under the scale of wages in this country the employee can ill afford to pay a contribution to the unemployment compensation fund. This is a problem which only time will solve. Certainly employee contributions are not appropriate to the employer reserve type of law.

Although we have only one law in which state contributions are provided out of general tax revenues, all the students of unemployment compensation agree that state contributions are

desirable. Winston Churchill in defending the state contributions in 1911 when the original act was up for consideration in the House of Parliament stated that public contribution was necessary to prevent the steady worker from carrying the burden of the worker in an unstable occupation. He said that the government ought to contribute so that the steady worker would not be penalized.

One of the difficulties with a federal-state system of unemployment compensation is that the states are not in a financial position to contribute to such a plan. Conversely, one of the arguments for a national scheme would be the better position of the federal government to make public contributions to the unemployment compensation fund. If I might be permitted to prophesy, I should hazard the guess that sooner or later we will have public contributions to the unemployment compensation fund, and it is to be hoped that such contributions will be paid for out of income and inheritance taxes based upon ability to pay.

A very great unsolved problem is that of the administration of unemployment compensation. Most students of the matter agree that upon the quality of administration will turn the future of social insurance in this country. A political and incompetent administration with bad management of the funds and lax administration resulting in their dissipation would quickly discredit the whole movement. Only a few states have civil service provisions, and the prospect of satisfactory administrative standards is not particularly bright. The fact, however, that the administrative costs of unemployment compensation are to be paid for entirely out of grants from the federal government will give to the Social Security Board a considerable amount of influence in bringing about satisfactory state administration. It is unfortunate that the federal act does not authorize the Social Security Board to establish minimum personnel standards. Without this authority it is greatly limited in what it can do in its relations with the states, but the situation is by no means discouraging. Those who are interested in secur-

ing state legislation should give particular attention to matters of personnel and a safeguard against political abuses.

Certain other problems or difficulties arise out of the federal-state system of unemployment compensation which we are setting up. Employers operating in several states will be annoyed at the variations of state laws, at the different kinds of records and forms required. The federal Social Security Board and the state administrators are attempting to iron out problems of this kind so that there will be a minimum bother to employers. Another problem is that of maintaining the solvency of the state fund. How much of a reserve should be built up during periods of good employment? What safeguards should be established to prevent the funds quickly becoming insolvent when heavy unemployment sets in? How can the rates of benefits be nicely adjusted to the rates of unemployment in a particular state so as to maintain a reasonable reserve? The rate of unemployment varies widely from state to state, and at the present time the scale of benefits adopted in the several states is fairly uniform—50 per cent of wages, maximum of \$15 per week, and a minimum of \$5.00 per week over a period of about fifteen weeks—but the amount of benefits which can actually be paid will vary rather greatly between states with heavy unemployment and states with stable industries. This is a problem which only time and experience can solve. It is almost inevitable that the fund in some states will become exhausted, and benefit rates will have to be scaled down accordingly or new sources of revenue found.

Another problem is that of interstate workers, or persons who move from state to state. They should not be deprived thereby of their benefit rights, but this is a problem which also waits solution. Most of the state laws authorize the state commission in charge to enter into reciprocal arrangements with other states to take care of such workers.

Perhaps the greatest problem of all is what form of public relief should constitute the second line of defense against unemployment. As I have stated before, without an adequate, sound sys-

tem of public relief any system of unemployment compensation is apt to break down. Experience abroad indicates that without an adequate relief system the tendency is to place upon the unemployment compensation fund more of the burden caused by unemployment than it is able to carry. We are still far from the solution of this, perhaps the most baffling problem of our time. This problem will be lessened but not eliminated by systems of social insurance. I need not tell you of its importance. It is all too apparent that unemployment compensation cannot stand alone but must have the support of a secondary defense against unemployment in some form of public relief.

TECHNIQUE OF UTILIZING AMERICAN POLITICAL MACHINERY TO SECURE SOCIAL ACTION

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I SHALL limit this discussion to the utilization of the machinery of legislatures, enforcement officials, and courts to social ends—to be specific, about drafting laws, lobbying to get them passed, and then seeing that they are enforced. The thing I want most to stress is the work that has to be done after the law is passed and most of us think, our work is over; that is to say, the work, infinitely more difficult, of seeing that the law is adequately enforced. That means seeing (1) that the public officials charged with enforcement understand and properly interpret those laws; (2) that there are enough enforcement officials to do the job; (3) that they are adequately paid for their work; (4) that the judges understand and back up their enforcement efforts; and, last but not least, (5) that the public understands and backs up what these various enforcement officials, inspectors, heads of departments, district attorneys, judges, and so on are doing. Otherwise the enforcement machinery will break down, people will not bother to obey the law, the law itself will become a dead letter, and we, its backers, will have got exactly nowhere.

Not until public opinion is so thoroughly behind a law, not until our habits, our folkways, are so thoroughly changed that for most of us we scarcely need the law at all, can we sit back and take it easy. In the field of social measures, new to our thinking and not yet a part of our folkways, this means a campaign of education, unremitting, day in and day out, not only before the law is passed but for a long time afterward.

First let me speak about the drafting of laws and lobbying

for them. It has been my lot as chairman of this or that committee of this or that worthy non-partisan group to ask our legislators at Albany to give favorable consideration to this or that social measure. When I read accounts of the lobbying activities of some of our great businesses at Washington, I become painfully conscious of the naïveté, the trustful innocence of this amateur approach. None of the organizations that I have been associated with ever met legislators at trains or bought them theater tickets. Perhaps if they had, the Child Labor Amendment or the woman-juror measure or some other of our New York hardy perennials might possibly be on the statute books by this time instead of still being the occasion of an annual pilgrimage to Albany in their behalf. However, I doubt it. I do not believe even the buying of theater tickers would have changed that situation. I do not recommend the buying of theater tickets, you understand. The amateur approach, that is to say, the direct approach, the democratic approach, still seems to me the only way. But it is certainly slow and difficult.

Take the case of ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. I know only the story of New York State, but I have no doubt it can be duplicated elsewhere. The Child Labor resolution passed Congress in 1924. In 1925 it was introduced for ratification in the New York State legislature. Eleven years later it was still there. This year there was a hearing in Albany on it, a great hearing at which many organizations and individuals appeared, many more than could possibly be heard in the time allotted to them. They jammed the capitol, they overflowed the chamber, and when the hearing finally closed many important and distinguished persons were still waiting to speak and had to go back home unheard. If ever public sentiment was made clear to our legislators, it was made clear on that occasion.

And then what happened? What was the vote in the Assembly, what was the vote in the Senate? Well, there weren't any votes in either. The Assembly never had a chance to vote on it, the Senate never had a chance to vote on it. In spite of this tremendous outpouring of public sentiment in favor of the

Child Labor Amendment the bill, as the saying goes, was "killed in Committee."

Fortunately we don't always have experiences like this one. If our New York technique were no better than this example would indicate, I should hardly dare to discuss the subject. We can get laws passed sometimes. So now let me tell you about a law that did pass. Let me tell you about our minimum-wage law. That law illustrates not only the technique of successful lobbying but the technique of draftsmanship as well. The New York Minimum Wage Law was drafted after the case of *Adkins v. The Children's Hospital* had been decided. That case, as you know, invalidated the District of Columbia minimum-wage law based on cost of living. Justice Sutherland rendered a famous dictum in that case to the effect that, whereas a living-minimum-wage law was unconstitutional, a wage law based upon the value of the services rendered, in the language of the Justice, "might be understandable." So we drafted our New York minimum-wage law upon the basis of the value of the services rendered. We adopted Justice Sutherland's very own idea and we used his very own language. We trusted that it might be understandable, not only to him, but to his other eight colleagues on the bench.

This law was drafted, as I have said, in line with Justice Sutherland's suggestion, as a fair-wage law. It was drafted by distinguished experts in the field of draftsmanship including not only Justice Sutherland (involuntarily, of course) but many others besides. Administrative officers in the eleven states where minimum-wage laws already existed were consulted as to the best administrative procedure and phraseology. Eminent constitutional lawyers were consulted as to the mysteries of due process, obligation of contract, equal protection of the laws, delegation of powers, police power, and similar weighty matters. No stone was left unturned to make this as perfect a piece of draftsmanship as fallible human beings, not members of the Supreme Court, could make it.

Then came the task of mobilizing public opinion behind the

measure. It was shown to many important groups; it secured the backing of over sixty prominent organizations in New York State alone; its sponsors stood guard over it in Albany; they labored day and night for it. And it passed. But it was a hard fight, a dogged uphill fight, which would never have been successful had not public opinion been so thoroughly mobilized and articulate that the legislators were never for one minute left in doubt as to what the folks back home thought.

Another one of our highly important laws, the unemployment insurance measure, was passed in much the same way. There was a great mass attack upon the problem by experts; there were many differences of opinion along the way—some of them are not yet resolved, for this, mind you, is virgin territory. There is no administrative experience and very little statistical material in this country to draw upon. The wonder is not that the experts quarreled but that they quarreled so little. Gradually the outlines of the bill emerged, the details were filled in, public opinion was mobilized in overwhelming force, and this highly important social measure became law.

So laws, socially important laws, do get passed, by dint of the work of experts and mobilization of public opinion. And then those of us who have worked hard for them breathe a sigh of relief and sit back, thinking the battle won.

But is it? To that question I answer "No."

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. We may work as hard as we choose to get good laws on our statute books, but unless those laws are enforced, we might as well have saved ourselves the trouble. Getting a law on the statute books is, comparatively speaking, nothing. It is enforcement that counts. And enforcement means an informed and alert public opinion and public servants sensitive to that public opinion and aware of the meaning and significance of the laws that that public opinion wants to see enforced.

The organizations and individuals that back these social measures, being as a rule small, highly concentrated pressure groups, are generally far ahead of public opinion in the laws

they advocate. Consequently, once the laws get passed, their job, far from being over, may be said to have just begun.

This enforcement problem divides itself into two parts, administrative and judicial. Once the law is passed, the government department charged with its enforcement must see to it that the law is obeyed. In the cases of the minimum-wage and unemployment insurance laws this necessitated the setting up of new departments with new personnel to handle it. Now new personnel, new inspectors mean more money for salaries and expenses. And that means additional appropriations in the budget. And budgets are notoriously ticklish matters. When the minimum-wage law was first passed, the legislature didn't consider that any additional appropriation in the budget was necessary. Frieda Miller, the chief of the Bureau of Women in Industry, was made the chief of the Division of Minimum Wage. In addition to all her other duties she was supposed to take on the arduous duties of minimum-wage enforcement as well. Now minimum-wage enforcement involves, not only enforcement of a wage already fixed, but the actual creation of such a wage scale, industry by industry, after painstaking study into the conditions of each industry, the setting-up of a separate wage board to go into the question for each industry separately, hearings, additional studies, and final wage fixing. It is a herculean job. The Labor Department has estimated that the law is applicable to 1,080,000 women of whom 80,000 were covered in the first two years, and that at that rate it will take twenty years more to cover them all. Not only was Miss Miller supposed to take on this responsibility in addition to all her other duties, but she was also supposed to make use of her original staff for the purpose. In other words, not an extra person was added to her staff, not an extra penny was appropriated. And yet she had to enforce that law.

Well, the department made a heroic stab at it, but it was clearly too much for them. So the next year the legislators added six new inspectors at \$1,680 apiece. In 1935 six more were added. In 1936 they asked for ten more, and the legisla-

ture gave them six. In addition to this the supervisor, who was now responsible not only for her own activities but for the activities of the nineteen people on her staff as well, was given a salary raise of the munificent sum of \$100 a year. Even this, grudging as it was, was a great victory. For the legislature started off the year by recommending cuts in the Labor Department budget of about \$93,000. I may add that as a result of a great public protest these cuts were finally eliminated from the budget, but it was only after a big fight.

My own department of licenses also illustrates the difficulties of enforcement. We license and regulate about thirty different types of businesses. And we have exactly thirty-six inspectors to do the work. Their salaries range on the average from \$1,800 to \$2,100. Overworked, underpaid, the miracle is that they do as good a job as they do. For they do a good job. The instinct of workmanship is there. What they need is a little encouragement, a little stimulus, a sense that somebody cares.

The moral of all this, I think, is obvious. It is just not possible to do a really good job of law enforcement where the staff is permanently underpaid and overworked. Human nature cannot stand it. The present incentives of civil service are not enough. A man will break under the strain of knowing that the job cannot possibly be done right, or else he will give up and loaf on the job, or he will resort to graft. These, of course, are familiar problems of civil service administration. But it is not civil service that I am discussing—it is the effect of all this on the enforcement of those social laws which we care about. If we want to preserve those laws, we must fight for more money, for a larger staff, for a more highly trained expert staff, for more incentives for good work. And once we have obtained those things, we must give our support to them. We must recognize good work when good work is done. And we must educate public opinion to demand and appreciate it.

And so I come to the problem of our courts. Our enforcement officials are able to secure compliance with the law most of the time. But sometimes they can't. And then they have to take

the offender to court. Now our lower-court judges are not always alive, to put it mildly, to the implications of the social legislation that comes before them. The judge who consistently says in a child labor case, "This dear little boy is the sole support of an aged, widowed mother; therefore I acquit the employers," or suspends sentence, as the case may be, is merely repeating the sentimental patter of the man in the street and is generally totally unaware of the harm he is doing in breaking down the law and breeding disrespect for it.

This judge needs education as badly as the man in the street. But the job of educating him is a somewhat delicate operation. We cannot assume that he is ignorant, first, as to the plain meaning of the law and, second, as to the philosophy behind it. Our approach must be more tactful. But, whatever our approach, the fact remains that we must educate him and not once, but over and over. To show what I mean, let me tell you about a study of the handling of labor cases by the courts which the Consumers' League made in 1925 and again recently.

The study made in 1925 found it "significant and alarming" that in the Manhattan magistrates' courts, 25 to 40 per cent of convicted violators received suspended sentences. The situation grew steadily worse. In the fall of 1932 and early winter of 1933 the League took up the matter again, sent representatives to court, and invited the magistrates to a luncheon conference in an effort to educate them about the place of the courts in enforcement. The attitude of the magistrates seemed to be that labor-law violations were not serious offenses and that the minimum fine for a first offense (then \$20) was too high. Sympathy was expressed particularly for small employers who might find this fine a real burden (i.e., punishment). The educational efforts of the Consumers' League had little effect, for in 1933 suspended sentences rose to 74.33 per cent. In 1934 Industrial Commissioner Andrews agreed to a change in the fines provided for violation of the Labor Law to allow the judges to use their own discretion in setting the amount for a first offense. This had the effect of reducing the proportion of suspended sentences somewhat, but in 1934 they still constituted 60.3 per cent.

In the fall of 1935 the Consumers' League arranged a conference with Chief Magistrate Jacob Gould Schurman, Jr., to which Industrial Commissioner Andrews and the heads of the divisions of Factory Inspection and of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage were invited. Chief Magistrate Schurman promised to communicate with the other magistrates. In November he sent them a letter setting forth the problem and asking for co-operation with the Department of Labor. The effect of this communication seems to have been negligible. Suspended sentences resulting from Labor Department prosecutions for the first nine months of 1935 were 65.2 per cent; for the first three months of 1936 they were 61.7 per cent. Average fines dropped from \$19.06 to \$18.02.

It has always been the policy of the New York Department of Labor that the enforcement of the Labor Law should be as far as possible an educational matter. The department endeavors to secure compliance without going to court except as a last resort. First violators are summoned to a departmental calendar or informal court for warning and to clear up possible misunderstandings about the law. In theory, at least, they are taken to court only when the department believes punishment is the only language they can understand, or after one or more violations. This means that many employers who appear in court as technical first offenders have actually violated the law one or more times before.

Even more important, we know that with the best inspection which is practicable only a small proportion of violations can ever be detected. There may be cases where by a coincidence the inspector walks in on the single violation of an otherwise blameless employer, but certainly the general probabilities are that those who violate habitually are those most likely to be caught by periodic inspections. Total violations may be likened to an iceberg in which only a small portion appears above the surface.

For those employers, therefore, for whom fear of punishment is the only means of enforcement it is vitally important that the deliberate violators who are detected be punished severely and

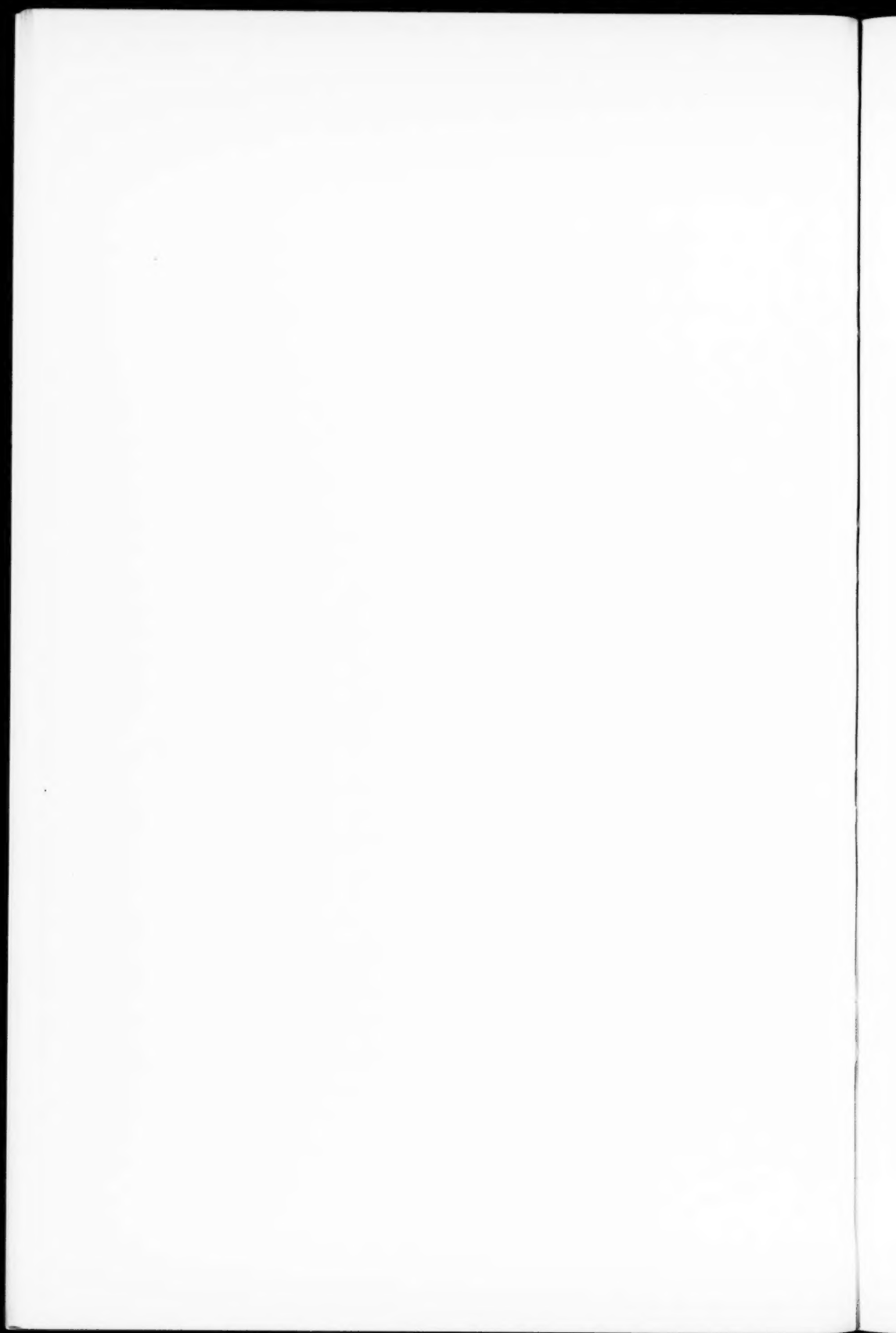
uniformly for the deterrent effect both on themselves and on those others who might escape entirely. As it is at present, the employer who sets out to evade the law has too many chances. He may not be detected at all; if he is caught he first gets off with a warning; when he first appears in court he is almost certain to receive a suspended sentence; the next time the magistrate is very likely to reduce the second offense to a first one or impose only a small fine or again none at all. Not only is he himself given every encouragement to break the law, but his fellows are quick to learn from his experience that they need expect no serious consequences from following his example.

The practical effect of this laxity is that the state has set up certain standards which are only a theoretical protection for thousands of working people. The abuses which the law was designed to correct still exist. The law itself becomes a nullity.

This then is my story. The technique of utilizing political machinery to social ends is a difficult technique from start to finish. We know a good deal about the difficulties in the way of getting laws passed. They are dramatic; they are obvious to everyone. We know a great deal less about the difficulties in the way of enforcement afterward. They are not dramatic; they are not obvious to anybody but a mere handful. Only administrative officials charged with enforcement really know what they are up against. Asked to do the impossible, blamed for not doing it, they alone know how much they need the help of public opinion to back them up, to fight for bigger budgets, more skilled staffs, better understanding of the problem generally. It is fair, I think, for our administrators to look for help to the public that has wished that particular law on them. It is fair to charge that public with responsibility for it.

In conclusion, let me say that there are many other ways of utilizing our political machinery, many other possible techniques to employ. I do not pretend to have covered the field. I offer this suggestion merely because it is so intensely practical, because it lies ready to our hand, and because there is a crying need for this sort of work in the difficult field of social action.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES



PRESENT RELIEF SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Josephine Brown, Assistant Administrator, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C.

THE more I read and the more I hear discussions of the present relief situation, the clearer it seems to me that this question breaks down into two major problems which are very easily confused. These two are: first, the problem of unemployment and relief as related to it; and, second, the problem of public welfare and public assistance, including financing, legislation, and administration. We shall be able to arrive at a better understanding of the present situation if we consider these problems separately. This is particularly important because these two questions have been and are still being treated essentially as separate problems by the administration.

During the winter of 1932-33 unemployment reached its peak. The number was estimated by different authorities to be from thirteen to seventeen million persons. At the same time the fiscal condition of states, counties, and municipalities was becoming more and more serious, and the added relief burden due to unemployment was unbearable.

It was to assist the states in meeting this burden of unemployment relief that the F.E.R.A. Act was passed. The Act reads:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That: The Congress hereby declares that the present economic depression has created a serious emergency, due to widespread unemployment and increasing inadequacy of State and local relief funds, resulting in the existing or threatened deprivation of a considerable number of families and individuals of the necessities of life, and making it imperative that the Federal Government co-operate more effectively with the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia in furnishing relief to their needy and distressed people.

While the wording of the Act allowed the broadest interpretation, and it was so interpreted, the intention of Congress was clearly to assist the states in providing unemployment relief. The administration of the Act was consistent with this intention. However, the very broadness of this interpretation, as well as the extent of the marginal and undefinable area between those definitely unemployed because of the depression, and those who presumably would have become dependent anyway, helped to confuse the issue when the program was changed from relief to work.

In discussing this change of program it is most important to keep before us the total unemployment picture—thirteen to fourteen million when F.E.R.A. started, and eleven to twelve million two years later. Approximately half of these people were on relief in the winter and spring of 1935.

No one will question the position that work is better than relief for people who are unemployed—the plan we all would have preferred was a work program for everyone or anyone who was out of work. The C.W.A. was an approach to this. And in the fall of 1934 there was much discussion of the possibility of “another C.W.A.”

But realistically this was the situation we faced when the new Act was finally passed and the program started in May, 1935. \$4,800,000,000 had been appropriated for relief and work. Counting out the \$940,000,000 which was needed and spent under F.E.R.A., the remaining \$3,900,000,000 would, perhaps, have been enough money to provide a work program for two-thirds of the unemployed at a man-year cost comparable to the average cost on W.P.A. projects. With the same amount of money a program of heavy construction work, with a much higher average cost, would, perhaps, have employed a quarter of those out of work. Actually W.P.A. received \$1,360,000,000. This amount, together with the sums to be spent this year by other federal agencies, assured the employment of approximately 3,500,000 out of eleven to twelve million unemployed.

It was obvious that if the program were thrown open equally

to all the unemployed, those who were on relief would have the least chance to get the jobs. They would be the last to be picked in the competitive market for several reasons: because they were the first to be laid off when the depression came; because relief labor is usually not wanted by foremen and contractors; and because many of them had lost their skills, their speed, their initiative, and their enterprise.

As long as there were not sufficient funds to give work to all the unemployed, the program was deliberately planned to give preference to those who needed it most. We were still under the necessity of providing emergency unemployment relief to that part of the unemployed who could not provide for themselves. We changed to a work program which was, as nearly as we could make it, real work at steady wages, because we believed in work and we believed that the unemployed themselves wanted it. We limited the projects to those which cost an average of \$800 per man-year because we believed that was the lowest average figure we could set which was consistent with worth-while, useful projects. We set this low figure in order to give employment to as many persons as possible with the funds available. We limited employment to one person in each family in order to provide for the maximum number of families, and in order to relieve the states of as much of the unemployment burdens as possible.

In administering this program it was and is our intention and desire to carry out this objective. There are many points at which we still need to make and will make adjustments in our policies and procedures in order to meet a greater share of the existing need, to the utmost capacity of our programs and our available funds.

As in 1933 the federal government recognized that the states and localities could not care for the burden of unemployment relief, so in 1935 the same position was taken. The Emergency Relief Administration Act of last year continued essentially the same assistance to the states in handling the relief incident to unemployment as that given by the F.E.R.A. Act of 1933. The word "emergency" is still used. Although it is an accepted fact

that extended unemployment has ceased to constitute an emergency, and must be dealt with on a long-time basis, the federal government considers relief, or work relief to any part of the unemployed group, as still an emergency, an expedient measure, and not by any means a solution, or an approach to a solution, of any part of the problem of unemployment.

I should like to quote to you what Mr. Harry Hopkins had to say on this subject in his testimony before the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in the hearing on the 1936 Deficiency Appropriations Bill which is now before Congress.

One member of the committee said to Mr. Hopkins: "I think you have been quoted as saying that in the next several years the federal government will have to appropriate something over \$2,000,000,000 a year to take care of the relief problem of employables."

Mr. Hopkins replied: "Well, if I have, I have been misquoted; because I feel very strongly that it is not desirable for the federal government at this time to make a permanent pattern and method of how it is going to take care of unemployment relief. Because if you were to do it today, you would have to set up a device to take care of a very, very large number of people. Now, I certainly do not look forward in this country to the number of unemployed that we have now. We have had a distinct improvement in three years. There ought to be more. If we are not going to get an increase in private employment through normal channels in the near future, then I think we should be thinking of doing other things rather than merely planning for unemployment relief.

"For instance, it seems perfectly absurd to me that we have one and a half to two million children under eighteen years of age who work in industry when we have high-school graduates, college graduates, and others roaming the streets looking for jobs. It seems equally absurd to me that we have some three million people working in factories and in industry in America over the age of sixty-five.

"I believe that you are going to need a permanent plan for relief in America in which the government will share. It may not be this one at all; it may not be this kind of program at all. But I would rather postpone the date to determine what that permanent program should be until a time when we can envisage the extent of the problem as a permanent problem far better than we can today. In other words, my thinking centers entirely around the problem of unemployment, to which relief is no answer, whether it is work or the dole, or whatever it is. That does not answer the problem of unemployment—I know that; and I think that the great problem facing America is the whole question of employment.

"Now, it would be no great job for Congress at this session to sit down and determine what is the best permanent way to give government benefits indefinitely, and I have no doubt but that all the present things would be amended to some extent. That, I think, would be a mistake, just as I think it would be a mistake now to pass a law which would say that you are going to pay the states 50 per cent of the amount they spend for unemployment relief, and that is all you are going to do; because I think that has a tendency to freeze the picture.

"If Congress starts paying that 50 per cent for unemployment relief, it is a very difficult thing to ever stop. The longer I have anything to do with relief of unemployment, the more I am convinced that it has little to do with reviving employment as such; that it is a palliative; that it is a necessary thing. Simply because a lot of people do not like it is no reason why we should not try to see that these unemployed get what they are entitled to, and in the best possible manner, while this situation exists. But the trouble is that people assume that that, in itself, is the important issue. Well, it is an important issue in terms of the people who are getting relief, but it is not the important issue in terms of our whole economy in this country.

"That is the way I feel about it, and I feel very strongly on that subject. We get a good deal of criticism, and Congress has gotten some, because it does not develop a permanent plan for

relief. We could develop a permanent plan for relief, but I think this would be the wrong time to do it. I would rather see Congress putting its mind on co-operation with industry in terms of employment."

This paper will not attempt to discuss the problem of unemployment. I can only repeat that it is the important issue in terms of the whole economy of our country. In comparison, relief or work relief, however necessary in itself, is of secondary importance, distinctly an emergency measure. If we keep this clearly in mind, we shall be better able to understand the true relationship of the administration of federal emergency unemployment relief to the permanent public welfare and public assistance program.

The major objective of the F.E.R.A. was to assist the states with unemployment relief. At the same time every possible encouragement and help consistent with this major objective and with the limitation of funds have been given to the development of permanent programs of public welfare and public assistance.

Last summer Mr. Hopkins wrote to our field staff as follows:

This Administration will be prepared to furnish advice and assistance to the states in planning and putting into effect permanent public welfare programs suited to their conditions and resources. This is in keeping with the provisions made for Federal public assistance under the social security bill now before Congress.

Let us see what the effect of the Federal Relief Administration has been upon public welfare. Where do we stand today as compared with 1930?

Before 1930 relief was entirely a local responsibility. During the fiscal year 1930-31 four state governments for the first time appropriated funds for relief—the amount was \$536,750. In 1935 the amount appropriated by thirty-nine states was \$224,243,774. The total for 1936 promises to be even greater. Twenty-one states will appropriate approximately the same amount, while fifteen will probably make larger appropriations. Before 1930 there was no state administration or supervision of relief. Today thirty-seven states have enacted legislation pro-

viding: in ten states for the state supervision of county administration; in ten states for a division of administrative responsibility between the state and the local unit; in seventeen states for state administration.

In twenty-three states and the District of Columbia permanent public welfare departments are now supervising or administering general public assistance. Nineteen of these departments are new—in the remaining four states responsibility for public assistance has been added to the departments already established. In three states a temporary public welfare department has been set up by executive order of the governor, and in one state a temporary state commission for the allotment of funds was established by legislation. Eleven states have continued the state relief administration, pending legislative action for a permanent program. This leaves eleven states in which there is yet no state provision for the administration of public assistance. In three of these states the prospects are good for the development of a permanent program during the coming year. The other eight are not so hopeful.

On March 15 these departments of public welfare and continuing E.R.A.'s reported a total social-work staff of 8,300; 500 of these are state supervisory and field staff, and 7,800 are county or district supervisors and visitors. The figure is actually larger than this, certainly well over 10,000 since New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan with their large staffs are among the states not reporting.

At least three-fourths of these staff members are well-qualified, experienced people. As a rule, they, with the 500 social workers now on W.P.A., are the best of the supervisory and visiting staff of the former E.R.A. Social Service Divisions. These 10,000 social workers, holding strategic positions in public welfare, are our best assurance of sound administration of public assistance in the future.

In counting our relief assets of today the Social Security Act has a place of primary importance. The federal government, in stopping federal emergency unemployment relief and establish-

ing in its place a program of jobs for the unemployed, did not relinquish all responsibility for dependent persons who cannot work. The President by indorsing the Social Security Bill, and Congress by passing it, committed the federal government to a grants-in-aid program by which it would share with the states and localities the long-time responsibility for three public assistance categories as well as for unemployment insurance, old age annuities, public health, and child welfare.

We should like to see the scope of this Act broadened and its funds increased. I believe that both these things will come to pass. In the meantime, what has happened during the last two years to the two chief public assistance categories under this Act?

Of the forty-six states with legal provisions for aid to dependent children, six have assumed a share of the financial responsibility, bringing the number so doing up to twenty. Also, the number of states exercising supervision over local administration has more than doubled. The number of states making provisions for old age assistance has increased from twenty-nine to thirty-nine since August 1, 1934. Fifteen of these states now bear the full financial responsibility as against seven, and state administration or supervision is now provided in thirty-five, as against twenty-five two years ago.

For these two categories states and localities spent in 1933 for the whole year \$37,000,000. During the current quarter of 1936 the total expenditure of federal, state, and local funds is \$31,000,000, of which \$14,000,000 is federal money. These funds are going to twenty-five states (three additional states have grants for blind assistance only). In fifteen of these twenty-five states the permanent departments of public welfare which are administering general relief are also administering the social-security funds. In four of the other ten states there is definite prospect of the integration of the general relief and social-security programs within this coming year.

These are the gains in funds for relief, in state responsibility, and in the development of sound public welfare administration

since 1930. However, we cannot forget that there is another side to the picture. There is no denying that in at least twenty-one of our forty-eight states relief funds are inadequate; in a few states miserably so. Staffs are too small in a number of states, and in others qualified personnel is almost entirely lacking. The picture is one of public welfare in the making. It is still a most confused and incomplete picture.

This transition from the federal emergency relief program to work and to the long-time social-security-public welfare program is not easy. We are in the throes of the transition now, and I cannot and do not want to minimize the difficulties we are facing. I can only point to the assurance of a stronger, more permanent program ahead.

We want that program to be a balance of federal, state, and local financing and control. I believe the prospects for such a balance are far better now than they were two years or even one year ago. Under the F.E.R.A. the pendulum had swung very far in the direction of federal control. The program was highly centralized and largely superimposed. At the beginning it was relatively easy to maintain standards. The very size of the job and the speed with which it had to move made it impossible to use local committees and encourage local participation and understanding as we should have wished. F.E.R.A. grants made to states became state money, subject to state laws. Because of this, state and local attitudes toward relief and personnel standards were beginning to exert more and more pressure against the federal efforts to hold these standards.

It is evident that this pressure was part of a general reaction against federal administrative control, evidenced so strikingly by the stand taken by state representatives in Congress last year against the provision for standards of "decency and health" and the approval of personnel in the Social Security Bill. At the same time the Supreme Court rendered its decision on N.R.A., and Congress amended the 1935 Emergency Relief Act by putting in the hands of the Senate the confirmation of the chief appointments in the work program. However, in the

present movement toward state control there is a danger that the pendulum may swing too far.

Because of this danger social workers saw with intense regret the responsibility for public welfare and public assistance placed upon the states and localities. What will happen, they said, with no federal control? At first I, personally, shared this concern. But, on second thought, I have wondered if after all it is not a pretty wholesome thing—to test our performance, to face reality, to find out whether or not public welfare can stand on its own feet after this two-year demonstration, and whether state governments will meet their share of the financial burden. Our fiscal studies show that all but two or three of them can do this.

I am convinced that social work in this emergency, in spite of all the handicaps, has made a mark that cannot be erased. The people in the states are aware as they never have been before of the reality of human suffering, and of the necessity of providing means to relieve it—and they are accepting social work as having a definite contribution to make in meeting this crucial need.

Permanent public welfare programs must be indigenous. They must strike deep roots in the understanding and support of private citizens and public officials. They must be wanted if they are to endure. I am convinced that this could never have come to pass under such a centralized program as that of the F.E.R.A.

I have reviewed with you the gains in relief and public welfare during the past few years. As we recognize these gains, we must also see clearly the unmet needs and do something about them. The most crucial of these needs will not be met until some solution is found for our problem of unemployment. In the meantime, however, the adequacy of the work program to care for the needs of the unemployed will depend upon funds available for that program. The amount of these funds will, in turn, depend upon the extent to which Congress believes that the people of the United States want to finance unemployment relief.

Increase in the scope and adequacy of the social-security pro-

gram will also depend upon Congressional action and the expression of public opinion—for or against.

In the states the efforts of social workers are badly needed to back existing welfare departments as they work for high standards of personnel and relief; to promote sound public welfare legislation where as yet no state responsibility has been assumed; and, last but not least, to secure adequate state appropriations for the social-security categories and for general public assistance.

If we build wisely upon the foundation already laid, I am convinced that the next two years will see a development in public welfare and in the meeting of human needs which will prove to be a tremendous advance over the situation in the United States as we see it today.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF PUBLIC RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

*Jacob Fisher, Chairman, National Co-ordinating
Committee of Social Service Employee
Groups, New York City*

NO SINGLE problem facing social work in America equals in magnitude, in public interest, and in importance the relief problem. No single issue is so charged with potentialities for good or for evil for social-work standards. No talk at conference sessions of the benefits of the Social Security Act, no surrender to the absorbing interest which the technical details of federal, state, and local co-operation in the working-out of the details of the Security Act hold for some of the members of our profession, can hide the fact that there are millions still in need of direct relief, despite W.P.A., despite industrial production indexes of 90 and 95, despite the expansion of mothers' aid and old age pension systems, and despite a most elaborately developed propaganda to the contrary.

No expressions of concern by federal officials with the quality of the moral fiber of our people can any longer conceal the appalling destruction in living standards for large sections of our population which has followed so quickly on the heels of the withdrawal of the federal government from direct relief. In the very state in which we are meeting, the unemployed have been cast upon the tender mercies of local overseers of the poor. In a state paying tribute to some of the wealthiest corporations in the country, the dead hands of Queen Elizabeth have closed about the throats of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children. Solemn editorials greet with satisfaction the reduction of the relief rolls to a fraction of their former state, and New

Jersey's apparent success in liquidating the relief problem is used to point a moral for the rest of the country.

The National Co-ordinating Committee of Social Service Employee Groups, which I represent, is in full agreement with the American Association of Social Workers of the need for the resumption of federal grants-in-aid to the states for direct relief, and for an expanded work program. This position finds expression in the support which we have been giving the Marcantonio Relief Standards Bill, the legislative embodiment of the principles touched on by Mr. West. I am not, of course, unmindful of the truth that relief and even public works are no answers to the unemployment problem. Social workers do not have to be told by economists, by experts, by apologists for the New Deal, that what is required is a return to normal employment. That is obvious. What is not so obvious is the clever way in which some of these gentlemen use such an argument as an excuse for no relief program at all. The organization which I speak for would like to see every employable person at normal work. The productive forces of the nation have by no means been adequately tapped. Pending that, we want installed an adequate social-security system, such as proposed in the Frazier-Lundeen Bill—which would provide the kind of coverage not given by the present Security Act. And pending the establishment of that kind of broad, comprehensive system, we urge the return of federal relief and the expansion of the work program.

Few social workers will disagree with the need for a return to national relief responsibility. I take it that there are not many of us at the Conference who believe with Aubrey Williams that the A.A.S.W. is giving aid and comfort to the forces of reaction in this country. The A.A.S.W. is taking a courageous stand for which some of us who have been critics of the Association in the past can almost find it in our hearts to love it. I say almost because, although the Association's heart is in the right place, its feet falter.

The vital question before those of us who are exponents of federal responsibility is the question of strategy in achieving

our goal. How can we help put the federal government back into direct relief? How can we help stop the federal government from whittling down on the work program until there is left only a little more than the normal amount of road-building and public works?

These questions are not merely social-work questions. They are economic questions. They are political questions. That is why the A.A.S.W. faith in a program of public interpretation seems inadequate, admirable as the motives may be. To whom are we interpreting? Who is our audience? Press releases and talks before interested bodies remind me in a way of that memorable scene painted by Conrad in one of his stories, of a European gunboat standing off the shore of Africa and firing into the continent. Some European had been killed; and there was the little gunboat, firing slowly, blindly, methodically, into the continent, into Africa, into the heart of darkness.

Is it not time for us to know something of the dark forces controlling the destiny of America? Is it not time for us to surrender the illusion that the public services are an expression of good-will on the part of government, and the illusion that sweetness and light will give us the kind of public welfare program the times demand? In an illuminating phrase in a paper given at this Conference one year ago, the same Mr. Williams who today finds relief such a wretched thing described the public welfare program of the government as determined by the equilibrium achieved between the pressures exerted upon the federal administration by the various groups interested in one or another public welfare system. I have not the time here to develop in sufficient detail the ramifications of that remark. I would draw your attention, however, to the close relation, from the very establishment of the F.E.R.A. in May, 1933, between the relief program of the federal government and its industrial recovery program. As the various New Deal devices to shorten hours in industry and to set a bottom to wages were ushered off the stage by Supreme Court decisions, the relief program underwent significant and seemingly confusing shifts. The collapse of the

N.R.A. meant the collapse of the federal relief program. There is a logic in the erratic gyrations of federal policy, in the plunge from C.W.A. to the three-point program and then the back flip into W.P.A. Analyze the process carefully and you will find two clear trends: the hourly rate on work relief has dropped, and the former bottom to the wage income of America's workers has been pulled out from under them.

The thesis I have been touching upon in these last few sentences is briefly this: that wage standards and relief standards rise and fall together; that the destruction of relief standards is not due to some strange prejudices against relief held by the American people; that they are destroyed by the same groups that destroyed the N.R.A., the A.A.A., and the Guffey Coal Act, that have been lengthening hours in industry and depressing wage standards. The engineers of defeat for the social-work program have been the American Manufacturers Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the Liberty League. On the other hand, it has been the organized labor movement as represented in the American Federation of Labor which has fought, and fought successfully in many places, against the security wage, and it has been some of the trade-unions and the organized unemployed, as now combined in the new and united Workers Alliance of America, who have protested most vigorously against relief retrenchment.

And so, in whatever interpretation we make, we must turn to that part of the public whose economic and political interests coincide with the values which we as social workers hold dearly. Interpretation is a futile gesture when directed toward winning over to our side the business groups who profit most by the ending of relief. If we are to be intelligently realistic about our methods, we must look rather to the trade-unions, to the organized unemployed, and to the growing movement for a Farmer-Labor party for the kind of mass support that our program obviously needs. We can be invaluable to them because we know the facts. They can be invaluable to us because they have the power and the strength we lack. And may I add parentheti-

cally that we can begin by uniting our own forces, by bringing practitioner and executive, rank and filer and administrator, into one front on the basis of a minimum program, such as that offered in the Marcantonio Bill.

Joining hands with the workers of America means, of course, a break in recent social-work traditions. It means a return, on another level, to the concern with living standards, with the dynamics of our society, which characterized an earlier and a vigorous generation in social work. It means our emergence from the semidarkness of a healing cult into the broad stream of the progressive forces in American life.

THE PRESENT RELIEF SITUATION

*Walter West, Executive Secretary, American Association
of Social Workers, New York City*

IN CLOSE study the present relief situation resembles that of 1931 and 1932 to a much greater degree than we are generally aware of. It was in 1931 and 1932 that efforts by social workers and others were aroused to urge federal participation in a program to deal with the problem of vast numbers of persons who had been deprived of their customary means of subsistence. With all that the federal government has done since, we are still face to face with very similar problems, as when the first Castigan-La Follette Bill was introduced.

While, unfortunately, there are no complete national figures on the present relief need or practices, it is our estimate that two and a half million families and single persons are in need at present and forced to rely on state and local relief. Comparisons with last year's figures, allowance for W.P.A. assignments, and private employment opportunities, as well as the countereffects of W.P.A. layoffs and the continuing privation for great numbers of families as the depression is prolonged are factors in the estimate. At this time it is impossible to say what part of this total will receive relief under provisions of the Security Act, but I consider it safe to say that the number of families and single persons whose needs must be met, if at all, by state and local governments is alarmingly similar to that which led the federal government to step into the relief program a few years ago. Federal co-operation in a program to deal with this huge problem is, therefore, the Association's main objective.

The relief problem is recognized as a continuing one. It will last a long time. Emergency measures are seen to be useless in

dealing with it from now on. We are all agreed on the necessity for a long-time program.

We know that the local and state governments on the basis of financial computations of facts of ours and other announced data might be able to raise sufficient funds to provide reasonable relief amounts for those persons who are not being cared for under the program of the federal government. I would disagree with Miss Brown's figure of the number of those which would be reasonably able to do so. But we are aware, also, that many units are quite unable to find resources.

Moreover, we know only too well that even many who could provide relief won't do it. When a local unit is hard pressed, relief is made so insufficient that it serves as a method of economy. That is what is happening, and that is what we had under the old poor-laws. This distressing national habit of pauper relief was tolerated because it affected a very small part of the population. A very considerable part of the population is now going to be required to go through the social disaster of care under our poor-law system unless we can quickly revise our plan.

I don't say that none of the things Miss Brown has spoken of does not give promise of future development, but it must seem very clear by the situation revealed day after day by the hot spots in the country—the stopping of relief in Philadelphia day after tomorrow; the experiment in New Jersey in trying to evaluate the reality of the relief problem by giving licenses to clients to beg—that it is not an academic question for those in need.

Another serious problem is the loss of statistics. Under the F.E.R.A. it was possible to count those for whom relief was provided. When relief stops, there is no load to count because there is no relief. Who is in need becomes very obscure.

Government work has made a better program for many people—3,500,000 men are not on that program. Where the work is real and where the wage and conditions are reasonably adequate, that is undoubtedly better than direct relief. But it

must be considered on the basis of what it leaves out as well as what it includes.

First, it leaves out a large fraction of the population; second, it has set up an impossible and cruel category of "unemployables"; third, it sets the federal government in conflict with the states. In maintaining its program it has to reflect on the inadequacy and what it considers the brutality of the very things which it asks the states to do. Therefore, it has multiplied the difficulties of state and local officers and has led to the dissolution of standards of relief provided by them.

I think that one of the difficulties which underlies this whole proposition is the very great lack of public understanding—getting out of relief but still being in it; shifting programs and change in emphasis at frequent intervals—and this confusion has left both Congress and the public puzzled as to what it is all about. It affects our ability to ally ourselves nationally to a sane attack on the problem.

Saddest of all the effects of the new program is that the federal government, which for two years gave to the nation a very fine interpretation of the needs of those vitally affected by the depression, has discontinued doing that. None of us will forget the influence exercised by Mr. Hopkins in calling attention to what was happening to persons unemployed and without means of self-maintenance. Since we quit this business of relief, that emphasis was left out and the interpretation is for a program under fire rather than on the needs of the people. That is very confusing, and quickly on the heels of that shift pressure against further relief got much more of a hold on the public mind.

Those points are liabilities. Our program suggests: first, a federal program of grants-in-aid to states for general assistance and transient care. This would serve as an underpinning for the work program—work to be on the basis of going rates of wages and, if possible, the basis of selection to be not consideration of relief need but ability to work, real enough to get the extra morale-value out of work.

I add a footnote that we believe it is very true that grants-in-aid will be on a different basis of administration from emergency programs, and that the hasty improvisations of emergency programs can be abolished in favor of sound administration relationships between federal, state, and local governments.

We believe it would be possible to establish a system of allocation on a long-time program that would save resentments which grew up in the states under the emergency program and which declined to give the federal administration the right to dictate the taxing policies of the states.

We believe this plan would reintroduce the great influence of the federal government in favor of higher standards of relief and better personnel. This is not an alternative of work or food baskets. We propose that the plan for a basic assistance program be restored, that as much public work as can be well planned be used to provide work instead of relief, and that the federal, state, and local governments be brought into a really co-operative relief program which is one of government's most difficult problems today.

THE PROGRESS AND POLICY OF W.P.A. ADMINISTRATION

*Aubrey Williams, Deputy Administrator
Works Progress Administration
Washington, D.C.*

ONE quickly finds in thinking of how we shall interpret our job in the Works Progress Administration that one cannot answer that question successfully without first having a clear conception of what it is that we have to interpret and why. These questions, in turn, are rooted in our conception and philosophy of government as a function of human society. It is from this point, then, that I approach our subject.

In the unsettled and perplexing state of the world today, it is difficult to penetrate the confusing multitude of surface phenomena to the fundamental issues that underlie them. But to my mind there is one basic issue in the world today, the significance of which is so inescapable that no one of us can afford to ignore it. This is the issue of democracy—democracy in its broadest sense. There are numerous schools of thought as to how society should be constituted and what form of government would best suit its purposes. But fundamentally there are only two philosophies of society: that which holds that certain individuals or groups should benefit at the expense of the rest; and that which holds that each individual is important in his own right and entitled to a voice in the determination of the conditions under which he lives and the method and policies by which he is governed. It is the latter philosophy which I believe may properly be called “democracy.” We have seen in the past few years examples of the breakdown of the democratic principle of government in several lands. We have seen it not only in the development of government by dictatorship within consti-

tuted political units but also in the acceptance of government by conquest in foreign and weaker countries for the benefit of the conquering nation. Dictatorship and conquest by war constitute the final denial of democracy.

But there are other forces that oppose the democratic principle in a less direct fashion in our own country. It is true that the majority of our people can still go to the polls and cast their vote for the persons who will represent them in the various units of government—town, county, state, and federal. But political activity and political rights represent only the effective will of current political philosophy. And it is in our philosophy that the threat to our democracy lies. One has only to pick up his morning paper to be confronted with the evidence. It is not as yet a threat against the franchise. It is a threat against the right of the vast body of our working people to join organizations of their own choosing in order to better the conditions under which they work and live and in order that they may bargain on an equitable basis with their otherwise all-powerful employers. It is a threat against man's most precious endowment—the urge to seek always after further knowledge, to broaden the sphere of human understanding, wherever that urge might interfere with the privileges of certain groups. It is a threat against the right of a large number of our people, the unemployed, to participate in the economy of the country in which they live, or, in some cases, against their right to receive the means to even the barest livelihood. It is a threat against the government wherever the government undertakes to maintain these rights or wherever the government undertakes to improve the lot of the masses of our people at a cost to the privileges of the few.

The Works Progress Administration is necessarily, by the very nature of its function, in the midst of this battle. I hope it is not necessary for me to tell you that we, both as an organization representing the will of the elected representatives of the nation and its elected executive, and as individuals, believe in the principle of democracy. We believe not only that every

adult person is entitled to a voice in the government, but that this government, his government, owes him some assurance of security for himself and his family and an opportunity, if he is able, to participate in the economy of the country by work. We shall fight on this issue as long as it exists as an issue and as long as we have the power.

I believe that the vast majority of the people in this country hold—deep in their hearts—to the principles of democracy as I have described them here. The American farmer does not wish to prosper at the cost of the standard of living of the city workman. The city workman does not want his high wage at the price of utter degradation for the unemployed. I do not believe, moreover, that the vast majority of our so-called middle-class population—business men, professional people, and the like—when the true facts are known to them, seek anything for themselves at the cost of suffering to other groups. It is not, in fact, to the true interest of any of these groups that others should be destitute and outcast. For the very nature of our economy is such as to make us all dependent on the prosperity of others for our own well-being.

And yet these threats exist. It is difficult—with all the respect in the world for legitimate differences of opinion as to how the well-being of all people may best be achieved within the framework of democracy—to avoid the conclusion that in many instances the issues are deliberately confused by powerful and selfish interests seeking to maintain their own power and privilege by falsely identifying it with the public interest. Since these interests frequently control the channels of communication and information, their comparative success is not surprising.

The misconceptions about the unemployed and unemployment relief, for example, are distressingly widespread. Take the recurring rumor, so often repeated that it is accepted widely among respectable people as a fact, that the unemployed are destitute because they won't work—while private jobs go begging. Never in any of the efforts we have made to follow back

along the path of these rumors have we found confirmation of the charge that the unemployed were deliberately refusing private employment. Yet this thing is serious. A prominent Congressman was quoted in the press, misquoted, I hope, as saying in connection with a proposed relief appropriation which he believed was too high: "Those unemployed people who don't get reabsorbed by private industry will just have to get out and look for a job." What hope can we have for a realistic solution of our problems when large numbers of people are confused by the strange conception that ten million people can, through those vague qualities popularly referred to as "rugged individualism" and "personal initiative," lift themselves by their bootstraps into self-support? Or when they are reassured, by the deluding thought that unemployment is caused by relief, that one has only to discontinue relief to cure the ill?

Standing outside and apart from all partisan issues are certain facts which the American people will have to accept before the problems which they represent can be solved. They are these:

First: That millions of American workers are unable to find employment and that the great majority of them are destitute as a consequence of their unemployment.

Second: That this condition exists not because these are inferior, incompetent people who can contribute nothing to our economy but because that economy, through its own maladjustment, has rejected them.

Third: That there are only three alternatives for meeting the immediate problem. These people may be deprived of all rights and allowed to starve in complete independence; they may be cast upon the mercies of private generosity; or the people as a whole, through their government, may accept the responsibility for seeing that those of their own number who are unemployed or incapacitated for work shall not starve.

Fourth: That assistance may take the form of grocery orders and soup lines, a cash dole, compulsory insurance, or a work program.

Fifth: That assistance to those who have nothing cannot be provided without cost to the more fortunate, and that relief which is cheapest in terms of immediate expenditure is the most expensive in terms of human demoralization.

Sixth: That there are only two ways of raising the public funds, through taxation or through borrowing. It is impossible to provide assistance without increasing either some form of taxation or the public debt, and the more adequate the assistance the greater must be the increase.

There are other considerations, of course (and some of them I shall discuss later), but these are the fundamentals. I believe that the future of this nation as a democracy depends upon the realism with which we face these facts and the degree to which the democratic principle determines their solution. For it seems to me self-evident that millions of our people will not quietly starve or continue their existence miserably, in poverty and degradation, so long as they have a voice in the way their country is run. If this occurs, it can be only because a small number of people have undertaken to run the country for their own benefit. It will mean the end of those democratic principles on which this country was founded.

But I do not believe that the people in this country will allow such a catastrophe to occur. I believe there are many forces opposing such a development as well as many favoring it. I believe we have seen evidence in the past few years of a developing sense of public responsibility, not only for assisting the victims of social and economic forces, but also for removing the causes of their misfortune, which many of us would have thought utterly impossible a few years back. We have seen public relief on an increasingly adequate scale replace the frantic and frequently misdirected efforts to provide even meagerly in the first days of the depression. We have seen the development of a program of work for wages whereby the employed person is enabled to participate in our economy as a functioning unit, making his contribution to the social whole and receiving his wage in payment, rather than a grudging handout. I believe most of you agree that this is an advance, whatever quarrels you may have with us on related issues. We have seen a landmark, the significance of which I feel to be very great, in the passage of the Social Security Act. For the first time the people as a whole, the electorate, has recognized its obligation through its government to guarantee one another's security! Here is a bright and unmistakable sign of the vitality of our democracy. There are other evidences: the guaranty of the right of labor to join organizations of its own choosing and to bargain collectively; the recognition of the obligation of the body politic to assist in the equali-

zation of income and spending power between city workers and farmers; the growing recognition of the necessity for the government to assist in providing decent housing for its people. These are only a few of the evidences of a developing social conscience in this country.

I do not think it is irrelevant to discuss this general and fundamental question in connection with our specific problems in the Works Progress Administration. For if this problem were solved, most of our other difficulties and perplexities would resolve themselves. If the public were willing to spend the money necessary to guarantee that any of its number who were able and anxious to work should have employment and that any who were unable to work should have decent and adequate assistance, our principal worries would vanish.

For we know, with all the gains that have been made, that the present measures of the federal, state, and local governments for unemployed relief are not adequate to meet the whole need. Because we defend our accomplishments is no sign that we ignore our inadequacies. We know that for every person to whom we have brought the renewed hope and vigor of a job there is probably another who is watching the years eat away the best part of his life while he sits in the bitterness, futility, and misery of enforced idleness. There are those of you who think we do not see these things. It is not we who are blind. We have reason to know these things. It is your neighbors, your friends and associates, your board members who ignore the true facts when they deplore the public debt, when they deride the "extravagance" of paying the unemployed head of a family \$50 a month for public service performed, when they minimize the total need.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that these blind spots exist in our national consciousness. Never has there been a more concerted drive to force the federal government to reduce its relief expenditures. Only a few weeks ago a New York newspaper juggled employment figures and produced, as if by magic, the startling but reassuring conclusion that there are only 3,276,790 unemployed persons (excluding agricultural and domestic workers) in the United States at the present time. This does not ex-

plain the fact that more than that number are receiving assistance from the federal government at the present time, that 1,800,000 more are eligible for that work even under our highly restrictive eligibility requirements, that we are constantly besieged by those who are outside of these requirements, and that over nine million are actively registered with the offices of the United States Employment Service.

It is claimed that present appropriations do not reach the unemployed but are fattening up the Democratic henchmen, even though we can demonstrate that our administrative costs are 3.6 per cent and that more than 95.5 per cent of the persons on our projects came from the relief rolls.

There is an effort to discredit us by attacking our projects, although I believe that the "boondoggle" charge has become frayed about the edges. Sponsors are beginning to realize that it is their cherished dreams in the way of improvements for their own communities that are being attacked, not simply the federal officials in Washington. And thousands of people listening to symphonies, attending plays, learning in our classes, playing in our parks, finishing school through the N.Y.A. program, getting their produce to market, saved from floods, and so on through the whole gamut of living—are not impressed by the reiteration of a worn-out word.

The most serious attack is the one which attempts to discredit the unemployed themselves. This can be regarded only as a vicious effort of the strong and powerful to rationalize their own favored position by cruelly discrediting the weak and suffering. For how can an unemployed man prove his willingness to work unless someone will employ him? How can he explain to the complacent lady from whom he begs a dime that his degradation is due to her unwillingness as a voter and tax payer to give him a chance to work? We see this attack reflected in the bridge-table talk of ladies who claim a scarcity of domestics. Recently a telegram was sent to the President from a fashionable suburb of New York by a woman who asked why people should be supported by the government when the people in her town could not get cooks, waitresses, chauffeurs, butlers, and

gardeners. When our people went to her for names and dates, she confessed that the telegram had been sent as a joke by a party of people whose political enthusiasm was running high on alcoholic stimulation. This kind of thing is no joke to the unemployed. Neither are the radio jokes about statues that turn out to be W.P.A. workers, or the comic strips that demonstrate how fine people keep off the relief rolls while worthless chiselers live at ease!

I do not believe that social workers believe that we are spending too much money or that the unemployed are worthless people, undeserving of consideration. Those of you who quarrel with us do so largely on the grounds that the federal government has undertaken to provide jobs for only a part of the people who are in need, and left the rest to the states and communities. I have no question as to the sincerity of those of you who believe that this has been a backward step and an unnecessarily cruel one to certain groups of people. I respect your position but I want you to know ours.

No one, I believe, questions the desirability of a job for the able-bodied man or woman who is unemployed. There is work that needs to be done, and there are people who are competent to do it. What more logical responsibility has the government than to bring the two together! Public work for the unemployed is socially desirable in that it uses for the public benefit the talents and capacities of those people whom industry has rejected. But there is another aspect to this question, perhaps more important. I do not believe that any direct relief program for the able-bodied, however ably administered, can fail to humiliate and degrade the individual who receives it! There is something deep-rooted in a democracy like ours that demands that each person shall pull his own weight, that despises the parasite. I can think of nothing more unfair to the unemployed person than to add to the misery of insecurity and want the humiliation of idle uselessness and the sense of being despised by his neighbors for that uselessness.

It may appear to you that I exaggerate our national abhor-

rence of idleness. Yet how else can one explain the fact that the element of employment raised the average benefit paid to the unemployed from \$25 under our federal relief program to \$50 under a federal work program? To the American people a laborer is worthy of his hire, but the able-bodied man who depends on charity for his livelihood is thrown a pittance in contempt. I think that this is a trait in our American character which we should not despise. But I think also that we must accept its inevitable corollary—a public responsibility to see that every able-bodied worker has the opportunity to take his rightful place in our democratic society not only through the exercise of political rights but through a job.

Assuming that we are agreed on this principle, I have pondered long and seriously the reasons that bring many of you to urge a resumption of federal relief. It cannot be simply that the present work program does not provide jobs for everybody, for the only logical answer to such a criticism is more jobs. You say that the states and localities will not and, in many cases, cannot provide adequate assistance for those who are unable to work, let alone for the unemployable persons for whom we have had no job. It is said that only federal relief grants can meet the entire need.

I realize what it means to you to read of families cut off relief in different localities, to see the distress of these same families besieging your agencies for some small bit of aid. I know how you must feel when you read of soup lines in Houston and organized begging in New Jersey, when you see states setting up border patrols against the unemployed and jungles flourishing by the freight yards. I know that it is difficult in the face of those things for you to listen when we urge upon you the long-range view—the view which we believe shows these as a part of the growing pains of progress. We know that it is difficult for some of you to comprehend the stand which we have taken against federal relief when there are these daily evidences of suffering.

Even so we cannot yield in what we so firmly believe to be true. Recognizing the suffering of those who are now cast out

in the shadow, we still will not relinquish the bright light of achievement and opportunity in order that all may know the murky gray of security in defeat. On the bright side of our picture we have these: a definite acceptance of the responsibility of our federal government to provide work for a proportion of its able-bodied unemployed; and an acceptance of its responsibility to aid the states to provide social security on a decent, self-respecting basis to its own people. I do not believe for a moment that we can keep these gains on the one hand and have relief on the other.

For what is that characteristic of relief as opposed to the work program and social-security measures that makes it appear so desirable that your efforts are concentrated here, rather than on an expansion of the work and security programs? I can find only one answer. Relief is flexible and elastic. It can be stretched to include every social ill, to assist every man, woman, and child who is in need. So it appears that no one should suffer, for relief would fill in the gaps of suffering between our present programs until such time as new measures could be achieved.

But in reality it is that very flexibility and elasticity of relief that menace our hard-won victories. For why should states pass legislation for social-security measures if there is hope of securing an all-purpose relief grant from the federal government? And why should taxpayers accept the cost of a work program if half the amount of money can be stretched to aid twice the number of people through a relief program? You have only to read the *Congressional Record* to learn that the issue is not whether we shall have a federal work program plus federal relief but whether federal relief could not displace the work program.

Perhaps you members of the A.A.S.W. noted that your program has been cited as evidence by one of the members of the Senate that new appropriations for aid to the unemployed would be unnecessary if we returned to a relief program. It has been three times cited by other Senators as authority for attacking the work program and urging the cheaper program of direct relief. You who insist upon federal relief find yourselves in the

company not only of our political opposition but also, and more serious, of all those who favor the form of assistance that can be stretched to the thinnest possible point, to that fine point of adjustment which costs the least to their pocket-books and still does not endanger their loss by revolt. For half-starved people, living on crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich, are too weary and too weak even to lift themselves to demand that they be fed from the table. They are slaves and outcasts; they are no longer free men in a free democracy.

I am at a loss to know how to conclude. We should like to have the support of social workers in our fight because we feel that you should understand the problem that confronts us, that we should be working side by side for the people whose tragic plight we know so well. I think it is more than a fight for the unemployed, important as that is. I think it is a fight for the preservation of all that we hold most precious in our American heritage, for the right of all people to participate in our economy, and for the obligation of society as a whole to guarantee to them security and the opportunity to work. This is surely the basis for all the civil rights and liberties that we rightly cherish as the bulwark of our democracy. I wish that we might be agreed as to how these things are to be achieved. For this is a fight which needs behind it the courage, the strength, and the wisdom of all whose lives are devoted to the daily task of promoting the welfare of the families and the individuals who make up our nation.

EMPLOYMENT PLANNING

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Graphic, New York City*

SEVEN years ago, at San Francisco, "unemployment in its newer and insistent forms forged to the front of Conference concerns." That was in June, 1929, four months before the stock market broke. The general public had long been blind to what was overtaking wage-earners in our industrial districts, but among the social workers the mounting seriousness of the problem was broached by the divisions on neighborhood and community life, on the family, and on industrial and economic problems.

To me, our democracy comes to the test here and now in what we do or fail to do in grappling with the overhang of mass unemployment. Design for the interplay of all the factors that will make for work, for livelihood, for security as footholds for democracy in this era of industrial change becomes the larger definition of what I mean by employment planning. As yet we are only at the stage of seeking clues and trying ways; at bottom we are dealing with a situation which will yield only to the experience, the inventiveness, and the participation of all the forces for American progress. Employers, labor leaders, bankers, economists, engineers, public officials, and the rest have their contributions to make; and so have social workers as the team play reaches out from relief to re-employment. We know where each prong point goes under the harrow of worklessness. After these last seven years our area of competence and responsibility has not only widened but deepened; and it is not too soon to stake out some of the ground before us, in an about-face to the years ahead.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Relief has been called the "first line of defense against unemployment." What I mean to convey by an about-face will be clearer if I call it the "last line of reserves in employment planning." We can throw out salients here and there as parts of our general advance; but the outcome at this point or that or all along the front is uncertain, and we need something sure behind us.

That last trench line is neither universal nor sure today in the United States; not in the sense that the British cover the hazard of unemployment with concentric circles of protection—with their unemployment insurance, their unemployment assistance, to fall back upon, their local public assistance behind that—or even in the sense that a year ago we could look to the F.E.R.A. for the sinews and strategy of a coverage that stood ready to fill in any breach in protection.

We can grant that there were states and cities that lay down in carrying their part of the load; that local abuses crept in; that the federal setup was getting unwieldy; that the tax-paying public chafed and exhibited galls where the income tax bit it. We can grant, too, that the national government would be doing its reasonable share in other ways—by its huge work program for what were called the employables on the relief lists, and its grants for old people and dependent children under the Security Act. Nonetheless, the liquidation of federal relief made this seventh winter of our discontent, these months when talk of recovery has been in the air, one of the most excruciating spans of the depression. If we know anything about hard times, we know that the heavy end of lost earnings is not borne by public or private agencies but by the unemployed themselves; that the longer hard times last the more savings are wiped out, the more families are driven to the wall; that the relief load always hangs on after a business pickup. Neither the method employed, the speed in which the shift was put through, nor the available resources in hard-hit regions were assurance that the residual load

could or would be taken over by all states and localities. Some have anachronistic tax systems unfit to cope with the burden; some have stalled on voting funds; some have thrown the load back not only to the counties but to the townships, and the need may be greatest in localities least able to bear it. We scrapped our line against starvation before making sure there was something to take its place.

With their firsthand knowledge of how it has panned out in various parts of the country, the American Association of Social Workers has protested against the withdrawal of federal relief funds, and I should not want them to lessen that pressure by an ounce. Nor, on the other hand, can I bring myself to see that this is a question of either—or; of choosing between work relief and direct relief, so long as we vote half a billion dollars for military and naval establishments that by no construction can be conceived as intended solely for defense.

Here in New Jersey we are told of cities which have cut relief lists to a fraction without causing distress. But do they know? Or do their official guesses, lapped up by the press, conceal what we find elsewhere: non-payment of rents, lack of medical care, relief allowances lapsing entirely or so low that children go without milk. As social workers we hold no brief for households that leech on relief funds, or states that are tax-dodgers; but these areas of anxious misery are too urgent to be left to guesswork while the question of "Who's to pay?" is resolved. I should like to see a commission appointed, expert, non-partisan, which could canvass any critical situation and give us the facts as to local distress and local resources. We need to implement the conscience of America to see to it that the bottom does not drop out of our protection in any part of the country. In this period of transition we can press for the resumption of federal grants-in-aid for unemployment relief and, as a long-run plan, for the same principle in developing that last or first trenchline of public assistance everywhere through welfare departments, from counties and cities up.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

In the panel discussion on social security that was broadcast over a national hookup, our Conference president, Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, put us all in his debt by taking up that gauntlet of defeatism which was thrown down in Albany last month when the New York Assembly scuttled Governor Lehman's social-security bill—the sorry, limp gauntlet that we cannot achieve social security in the richest and most productive country in the world. The year before New York passed its unemployment compensation law, a state pool system with its sure and wide coverage. Wisconsin had led the way in its Plant Reserve Act of 1932 with its emphasis on regularization—an American variant from the European models. Since the turn of the century these had demonstrated how the insurance principle could be applied to broken work and wages; we had held back unmercifully and are indebted most of all to President Roosevelt, Secretary Perkins, and Senator Wagner for breaking the stalemate.

Unemployment compensation may be regarded, narrowly, as a category of relief; rather it is one of those salients I have spoken of thrust out into the field of employment planning. It is based not on need but on a percentage of wages, and it is essentially a scheme to make up a share of the earnings that workers lose when, through no fault of their own, they are let go. Its tax pressure should make it to the public interest to see that they get other jobs.

The unemployment compensation section of the Social Security Act of 1935 lays down a national pay-roll levy on employers and erects a flexible framework for state administration. It is lame in its failure to make civil service requirements a prerequisite, and in its failure to set national minimum standards or to undergird them in states where unemployment is heavy. On other points the section calls for change and development; it must pass the test of the courts, and the states must adhere to it. Only ten have done so, and the immediate point of attack for

social workers is to help make sure that the rest do, and get its benefits through to workers everywhere.

Those benefits in any event will not be available for another year, and when they are, they will fall short of what the British have projected after a quarter century of experience and after a longer depression than ours. The American benefits, for example, may run for as much as fifteen or sixteen weeks; the British run for half a year, and then their employment assistance takes over on a means basis. When the social-security bill was before the National Advisory Council set up to aid in its formulation, those of us who pressed for federal funds to lengthen the term of benefits were given to understand that the answer lay in the companion four-billion-dollar work relief measure. That would break ground for work assurance to take over where unemployment insurance left off. This is a long-run implication of the Works Progress Administration which has largely escaped public notice.

WORK RELIEF AND WORK ASSURANCE

Here we clearly cross the borderland of employment planning. Our concern is to find something to take the place not merely of lost wages but of the lost work itself. In work relief we have something more flexible and various than public works. It is one of the few distinctive American contributions to the strategy of dealing with unemployment. No one who has watched a man recapture his hold on himself and feel the tang of giving, as well as taking, can lightly minimize its quality of human renewal.

Direct relief—and even social case work if you will—can be traced back to its raw beginnings in doles, soup kitchens, and shelters. Every advance toward organizing charity had to overcome not only the drag of old and loose practices but a rigid resistance to new. The chant went up, "You're pauperizing." Looking back, we know how slow has been the evolution of our modern standards and techniques. When we were confronted these last years with the need for their mass application, at least

we had a corps of trained social workers to give leadership and direction.

Similarly, work relief may be traced back to crude origins in woodyards, sewing-rooms, and roadwork. The blanket cry of boondoggling against it carries echoes of those old chants. And to my mind those social workers are shortsighted and unscientific who would disparage and discard it instead of seeing it through a similar discipline.

Those of us who are keen not to have the works program killed off before it has matured are equally keen not to have the program under the fresh appropriations torn and thwarted by those factors of space, time, mass, and politics. Surely this last year's experience can be turned to account in projecting the new. As one point of attack, I urge the W.P.A. to appoint a planning commission, to review the work to date, to take stock of where it has broken down, where it has made good, where the gaps are and where the lines of promise. I should like to see such independent commissions set up in each city to canvass performance and recommend rounded plans. Social workers can take hold and see that this is done in their own communities.

REHABILITATION

If we are to take seriously the idea that work is the American answer to unemployment, then in the vernacular we are licked at the start if we lie down under any rule of thumb that lumps people as unemployable. There is every shade of unemployability, and it is our business to elicit and equip it to do its part. Senator Wagner once pointed out that we should not think it good sense if a manufacturer, when hard times came, put his machines out in the street to rust. We have done that with people. Not only is there the drag of ill health, but the lost morale, the lost deftness and self-confidence, among men and women who have been without work for long stretches. They are as clearly victims of the depression as some of the men who came back from France were victims of the war, and as clearly would respond to a program of rehabilitation. Here is some-

thing on which our work and relief administrations, our hospitals, nurses, and schools could focus.

As one point of attack, why shouldn't we urge the Works Progress Administration to set up a rehabilitation program in every industrial center in the country, drawing in other agencies, utilizing unemployed doctors, dentists, vocational teachers, and the rest, and carrying out works projects in which the emphasis would be shifted deliberately to rehabilitation and retraining? And, again, we can take hold and press for such a program in our own localities. We can begin planning for employment that close in.

RE-EDUCATION

Such a program of salvage and renewal in which social workers can and should take the lead has its parallels. Detroit was the first great industrial center to feel the force of the depression; in turn, it is the first to show marked signs of recovery. With the auto plants running overtime this winter, they have scoured the country for toolmakers, die-cutters, cabinetmakers, and auto woodworkers. Moreover, the industries have been short of semiskilled men, also; they have discovered that, laid off for long periods, these characteristic workers in mass production have tended to lose their knack. Detroit employers and educational authorities have set going training centers, not only to get these workers back into trim, but to break in young people who have never known what work is. Among them are those of an age group likely to be jumped over by managements in favor of younger brothers and sisters, who, while they have no more experience in holding a job, will not bring with them the habits of idleness. I take it as a special charge on the social workers of the country to see to it that these young people, handicapped by the depression years, get their chance in any scheme for vocational training.

We come at this point to three other salients which have been thrust out in the midst of the depression and which call for fresh assessment and long-run development. Here are the C.C.C.

camps with their semimilitary discipline, their uneven educational facilities, their group life in the open air, and the things they have to show from forestation to mosquito control. Here are workers' education projects which the W.P.A. has carried forward under Hilda W. Smith and which are a creative variant from conventional schooling. They adopt methods from the Danish folk schools to the issues and responsibilities young men and women will confront in the industrial life of the next decade. Here is the program of the National Youth Administration, experimental, forecasting a new stage in the evolution of public education if opportunity is really to be within reach of each new generation. If there is justification for endowing age in an industrial civilization, there is more for giving youth a better toe hold.

In each of these fields social work has contributions to make of awareness, criticism, and espousal. They have to do with the living tissue of our chief social asset; and they take on new urgency now that we propose to cut down the span of the working years and give elbow room to the adult working force of America.

THE TWO ENDS OF THE WORKING SPAN

The application of science and engineering to production has brought us to that age of surplus which Dr. Simon N. Patten (who gave the name to social work), as no one else, foreshadowed in his *New Basis for Civilization*. We see this, inverted, like a mirage, when crops are curtailed and goods lie unsold while millions of families are in want for necessities. There is something equally upside down when children work in the midst of mass unemployment. The realization has given a fresh shove to the long-drawn campaign for a federal child labor amendment. There are still twelve states needed to pass it, and its passage is a charge on social workers everywhere. But its passage must be paralleled with such advances in education and provision for youth as I have referred to, or we shall be merely making juvenile unemployment chronic by law, giving boys and

girls the husks of years that should be the fullest in development and adventure.

At the other end of the working span we had made gains in state old age pensions before the depression set in. Abraham Epstein, almost single-handed at first, had seen to that. But again, with hundreds of thousands of old people on our relief rolls, with the likelihood that many of those in middle life will have hard work getting a footing in industry, one silver lining of the depression has been the impulse it has given to this cause. Dr. Townsend is extravagant in the cornucopia he holds out to the aged, but he certainly has left no uncertainty abroad in the land as to the public temper. The Social Security Act has erected a scaffolding of immediate aid and laid the foundations for an ordered system. As temporary framework come the federal grants to states which enact old age pension laws. As social workers we can not only urge their passage but see to it that our old people are not tripped up by a loose board in the scaffolding. My reference is to the possibility that states may employ the federal grants to cut down or keep down their own share of the expense.

The foundations for an ordered system, based not on need but on right and age, are embodied in the section which provides for a contributory scheme of old age insurance. Here, again, we shall have call for both defense and attack—for defense against broadside assaults on a system of protection which, while it is new to America, has long proved its worth abroad; for attack on the compromises that weakened and distorted the program when it was enacted. We have until 1940 to see to it, for example, that federal contributions shall be made available to help meet the claims of those who come into the system in middle life. That would lower the rates for employers and employees; ease the burden on younger participants who otherwise must carry their elders; and avoid the necessity for huge reserves without precedent abroad.

From the angle of employment planning, child labor laws and

old age pensions cut down the size of our problem. But that is, of course, only part of the story. Our ancestors were definitely modifying the distribution of wealth, as between one generation and another, as between the well-to-do and those who are not, when they founded our scheme of public education running from elementary schools to universities. They did it deliberately, and we shall be carrying it further as we raise the working age and take new measures to fortify the American chance for youth.

Similarly, in applying the principle of insurance to old age and unemployment, we shall be canalizing in new ways the flow of wealth which applied science and modern management are prepared to create if they can find markets. We can point out that such an ordering of incomes is incomparably more advantageous in expanding and stabilizing purchasing power, and thus in increasing employment, than leaving workless old people and unemployed breadwinners on their uppers. The testimony of British merchants and employers is clear on that point. But we should not blink the fact that such provisions cost money and may be carried to lengths that choke industrial enterprise. Our purpose is not to encourage new grafts or old sloths. But we are not content to let these realistic considerations be used as a cloak for lapsing back into the bottomless insecurity which has been so outrageously exhibited in the depression.

If we are to get social security and keep it going, we need to know the size of our problem. We need to disentangle industrial unemployment from its accumulations of all manner of dependencies and deficiencies and deal with them on their own. The categories of the Security Act are a step in that direction. And we need agencies free to focus on the major problem of supplying work and security against worklessness.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

The very forces of the depression are shaping a nucleus which in time may become such an agency and take its place as a com-

munity service kindred to that of health departments which reinforce medical care and at the same time strike out for prevention. Under the Wagner-Peyser Act New York was one of the first commonwealths to establish a federal-state employment service. Under the Wagner-Lewis Act it was the first to pass unemployment compensation legislation on a state-pool model. These two services have been merged in an administrative structure which will divide the state into regions, districts, and city offices. Under the same management down the line will fall the distribution of unemployment benefits and the work of placement which would make them unnecessary. Moreover, if employment is to be had, the dual system will carry its own work test. Actuaries, statisticians, economists have been engaged in working out the record-keeping that should yield current knowledge, consecutively, of the employed and the unemployed in the state. Trends and shifts of employment opportunities should no longer be guesswork. Back of standards and practices will range the research departments of the United States Employment Service and the Social Security Board. Whatever personnel work and psychiatry, for example, have to offer will be welded into the system, in line with the demonstrations carried out in Philadelphia, Rochester, Minneapolis, and Cincinnati. Only this last month, in our advisory council, we have recognized the interests of welfare agencies no less than those of employers and labor unions. The whole development is one which lies close to the domain of social workers who can contribute criticism and co-operation as it goes forward.

What such an agency amounts to will depend not alone on the efficiency and social statescraft of its management and on the building-up of a trained personnel, but on whether there are jobs to be had, placements to be made. This larger problem of work supply hangs on how our economic order is handled, but such an agency should come to implement employment planning and can be a leverage for steadying work. Let us look next at two contemporary forces which complicate that result.

MECHANISM AND STABILIZATION

Under the W.P.A., and with the collaboration of other research agencies of the government, there is going forward the most comprehensive study ever made as to the technological factors in unemployment. Although its findings are still pending, it is common knowledge that, to be in readiness for recovery, management policies are being recast, new tools installed, new sequences worked out which cut down pay-rolls and discard jobs. Our gains in re-employment are discounted by these new freshets of unemployment. As against the easy magic that invention in the long run creates more work than it displaces, there stands the considered judgment of such experts in this field as Emil Lederer that, when mechanization goes forward in the downswing of the business cycle, this compensation is slow to make itself felt. There is the everyday observation that any round-about stimulation of new jobs offers small help to the group who know the old and who are displaced at a particular place in a particular time. Their plight is as old as that of Silas Marner, the nearsighted hand-loom weaver of whom George Eliot wrote. The craftsmen who were put out of business in the Industrial Revolution had no recourse, but we are beginning to feel that when a man puts the best years of his life into a process which gives way to new, fair play is involved if not equity. A dismissal wage, then, is something which social workers can get behind, for they know what happens to families which otherwise are just out of luck in the name of progress.

Turn next to the stabilization of work—a desirable objective; but that, too, has its seamy sides. In the twenties and before, progressive employers demonstrated that operations could be regularized which hitherto had failed to yield steady work. Samuel S. Fels and Colonel Procter did this in soap; Lucius Eastman (Hills Brothers) in date-packing; McIlwain and Endicott-Johnson in shoes; Knox in hats; Leeds and Northrup in thermal instrument making; Dennison in paper. The shift of the annual show is counting in this direction in autos. We

should like to see the process go forward. Without it, workers cannot take an industry seriously as a means of livelihood. But with it, other workers may be eliminated from the pay-roll entirely. Take a large firm which in recasting its labor policies made an analysis of its pay slips. For the most part these showed six months' work spread over twelve. By vigorous changes operations were stretched out over nine months, and the working force cut down from say 60,000 to 45,000. It meant the company had the pick of workers; its employees could count on a running livelihood; there was less discontent. But what became of that other 15,000? Clearly they were left in the laps of Providence and the public. They became part of our problem in employment planning; and their like will be repeated over and over in the years ahead.

There is one point of attack, at least, where social workers can take hold in this situation. As the depression wore on, it was to the interest of managements to keep their working forces intact; they would need them later; feelings of loyalty no less than self-interest entered in; "spread-the-work" became a national catchword. At a later stage it became the practice of relief administration to supplement these broken wages where they did not meet the family budget. A case might be made for such a course in the emergency; it becomes intolerable as a long-run program. The evil of supplementing wages is an old and grueling story. Better to have some workers get a real living and then face squarely what can be done for and with the rest, than to involve the whole lot in a substandard, half-dependent existence.

PUBLIC WORKS

As you see, I am keeping close to immediate lines of attack and shall not attempt to take on those larger solutions that are put forward to make work universal—ranging as they do from a rugged reliance on low prices and high wages to the espousal of a planned economy; from "back-to-the-land" to hopes pinned on some new national industry.

Resort to public works to take up the slack in a depression or

compensate seasonal changes in normal business is not new; forerunners like Otto Mallery of Philadelphia have explored how they should be planned and budgeted in advance of a crisis; advocates, also, like J. M. Keynes, the economist, would embark upon them in ways far more considerable than any nation has as yet attempted as the makeweight in economic revival.

There is one trump suit which England has played successfully throughout the depression, and that is the promotion of low-cost housing for the lower-income groups not served by private builders. The Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill now before Congress would lift the whole handling of this neglected opportunity to a new stage. Our expert studies, our housing surveys, our real-property inventories are briefs in its behalf. And social workers, who know what insanitary, antiquated, and unfit dwellings do to people, should be at the forefront of this salient in employment planning.

HOURS AND WAGES

Employment planning cannot stop with supplying jobs, unsight and unseen. If there is to be security in our working life, wages must be long—a year's income to reckon with along with year-long meals, rent, clothes, and schooling. Wages must be broad—they must cover a whole community if livelihood there is to be firmly grounded; they must be high, if we are to strike out for an American level of living that we can stand on and for. As close-in observers of wage-earning districts we know that, even in those industries where labor is not organized, working conditions are affected by what unions have been able to gain elsewhere. As social workers we know that it is what people do for themselves that counts for most, and this is as true collectively as in the individual household. Our judgments and policies may be our own, but we can stand for the right of labor to organize as a force that transcends any efforts of ours in ridding American life of overwork and underpay.

Under the Blue Eagle an attempt was made to supply whole industries as such with the machinery through which they could

themselves set bottom levels to employment. That has gone by the board. Supreme Court decisions in the N.R.A. and in the Guffey Coal cases seem to strip the federal government of the power to set such levels in intrastate industries. If the Court's decision in the pending Minimum Wage case from New York is adverse,¹ it would seem to strip the states of power to act. Now presumably the founders of the American republic thought they were establishing government that would span the country; but the public in our day is waking up to this vacuum in the making where we are not masters in our own house. As social workers we know that when the working day and the working week are strung out, it not only wears out workers but cuts down employment. We know the immediate social distress which flows from sweated wages, and also the after consequences to families which have never had a chance to save.

Just twenty-five years ago our National Conference met in Boston. Justice Louis D. Brandeis, then a practicing lawyer, looked over the boundary of social work from the outside. He challenged us to reckon with the unmet hazards which have come of industrialism, accidents, sickness, old age, and unemployment. At that same conference Edward T. Devine, then secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, looked over the boundary line of social work from the inside. He projected the need for relief from congestion, city planning, and a constitutional amendment governing the conditions of labor and wages. A quarter century, and such challenges have become the liveliest political issues of our day. Now, even more than then, we are conscious of the need for setting our house in order; for bringing social arrangements rooted in an agricultural society abreast of the dynamic changes which have gone forward in industry. I am for amending the federal Constitution as the long-run method to avoid having to escape tortuously from not dead but dated language to the living spirit between the lines. As immediate points of attack, we are assured by constitutional lawyers that judicial procedures can be amended in ways that

¹ It was.

would give us more freedom to implement social security and plan employment. Why not try them?

James Truslow Adams has pointed out the distinctive achievement of the American Constitution—a federal system of government but flexible enough to leave elbow room for self-government close to home but firm enough with the decades to hold a continent in its span. We confront in this new epoch an equally exacting test to preserve our liberties and at the same time to govern the mountain chains and swamps of our industrial life. And I should not like to close without citing the modern instrumentalities that, if we choose, we can employ to that end. There is the income tax, which affords us a means to bring the strength of the hills to the reinforcement of the lowlanders in our common life. There is the principle that in the fierce new bargains, where the shopper, the consumer, the worker, the unemployed, are no match for the corporate institutions they deal with, the government today can come to their side. There is the resort to grants-in-aid (nation-to-state, state-to-county), which reinforce local units of government in meeting the stresses of new times, without sacrifice of local administration. There is the principle of minimum standards through which the conscience of America can make sure that there shall be no time or place where protection shall not run, while instigation and advance may run free over and above them. And there is that new conception of planning as a dynamic social process; of taking forethought no longer merely as individuals or as groups, but as a people; and of employing as tools of democracy some of the designs and energies and working principles that are the heritage which scientific advance hands on to its social counterpart.

THE INSTITUTION AS AN INTERLUDE IN COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT OF PROBLEM AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN

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IT SEEMS to me that a discussion of this topic must rest upon a very comprehensive understanding of the place the juvenile correctional institution fills in the total social fabric. Any institution, correctional or otherwise, does not exist as a thing entirely apart from the rest of society. All institutions, of whatever kind or nature, definitely have their roots in and draw their sustenance from the whole community in one way or another. They vary greatly in the range and depth of their origins and influence. The correctional institutions exercise a function that is worthy of the informed interest of the entire body politic. They are much more intimately connected with the community life and have their roots much deeper in the social fabric than the other types of institutions, not merely because they exist by virtue of legislative enactment but because their wards are committed through courts set up by the people.

The only thing I hope to show is how and why the institutional treatment, covering at most a matter of a few months, is really only an interlude in the life of the child, and the further fact that, until such time as the child has committed a series of forbidden acts and has actually become a public nuisance, if not a public menace, the group who represent the protective and preventive agencies in the community have mostly been unaware of, or heedless to, the needs and the development of the child. These community forces of protection and prevention are represented by the church, the school, the home, and all the

law-enforcement agencies, as well as the industrial and social life, in whatever form, active in the community. The home, of course, is the most potent factor. The institutional life of the delinquent constitutes an interlude in his community training. The purpose of providing this interlude in his community activities is to change the direction of his development or to enlarge his opportunity for development, and thus bring about a better attitude on the part of the delinquent.

An institution is made up of a great many factors. It is important, of course, to have well-planned and well-equipped buildings, to have suitable facilities for the physical care of the population, and to have adequate equipment to employ the working hours of the population. To my mind the life of the institution, the sufficiency or futility of its program, and the quality of its product depend much less upon the physical plant than upon the caliber of its board of managers, its superintendent, and the general personnel. In this human side the superintendent is the most important factor. To be sure, the most splendid superintendent would be practically helpless with an antagonistic board or an inadequately trained or indifferent staff; but a sufficiently competent superintendent would not be found in such a situation.

The program of the institution must be based upon the philosophy:

First: That the population is made up of units—each unit a young human being, each human being with separate individualized qualifications which, in many respects, differ from those of every other individual and which, in some respects, are common with many individuals.

Second: That child delinquency is not necessarily a wilful and wicked demonstration against society but, in the majority of cases, simply represents an effort on the part of the individual, or the group, to give expression in activities that will net the greatest return to the most dominant interests.

Third: That regimentation of treatment can be tolerated only as it touches the common factors in the various individual units making up the population; that it must offer individual treatment in any and every direction required by the unique or special qualifications, abilities, and aspirations represented in the population.

Fourth: That the cure of such delinquency is found in setting up new activities from which an equal and, if possible, a greater amount of interest may be derived by the individuals. These new interests must be allowed sufficient play to give opportunity for creating new attitudes toward self, toward spare time, and toward group activity.

Fifth: That to bring about these necessary changes there should be a well-organized and competently directed program of activities including music, dramatics, hobby clubs, athletics, and character-building organizations, and that accompanying the program there must be definite and constant aim to bring about participation, both directed and spontaneous, by each individual, in a way to develop a new sense of responsibility, of ethical values, and moral standards.

Sixth: That this must necessarily depend upon a very splendidly trained personnel, offering a type and quality of leadership which excites respect and admiration, and results—without force—in inculcating proper standards of conduct and proper attitudes toward life.

Seventh: That the institution should represent a positive leadership in the community for the treatment of delinquency and in interpreting the value of community resources in the matter of prevention.

As to the institutional program of training, it is important to start at the beginning. Even the way the delinquent is delivered to the institution and his reception are of outstanding importance. I recall what a struggle we had to convince a certain county that we did not want its sheriff's Black Maria with small barred windows and steel doors, with its sides labeled "Police Car," driving into our institution; but we finally succeeded in eliminating it, along with handcuffs and leg irons.

It is of equal importance that the institution officials receiving the boy shall treat him as they would treat any other boy. There shall be no display of authority, no brusque, sharp language tending to intimidate or to impress the boy that he is in a pretty tough spot; neither shall there be any sentimentality—any honeyed words. It is just a civil business proposition in which everybody extends a business courtesy to everybody else. There is no other period in the institutional training of the delinquent where better returns may be secured for the right kind of care, treatment, and training than in the reception cottage. This cottage should be under the care of very discriminating

people. Firm?—yes. Wise to the ways of the underworld?—yes. Prepared to meet disagreeable emergencies?—to be sure, but these are reserve traits in the background.

From the very beginning, within the first hour of the boy's reception, his training starts. The first thing he is to learn is what is expected of him in the institution, and this is to be given him by a responsible person, not to be found out hit-or-miss from the other boys. Rules and regulations are gone over with him, as they concern his life, with reasons for certain restrictions and certain requirements pointed out. The grades and marks that he will be expected to make in winning his parole are talked over. His questions are answered. He is induced to write a letter home almost immediately. During his period in the reception cottage he is to be given definite training in hygiene, physical care, and good manners. If there are organizations within the institution, such as scouting and athletics, he is to be interested and coached in order to help him win his way into those organizations. His attitude toward work, school, and Sunday services are all to be considered, talked over, and strengthened in the right direction during his reception-cottage period. By all means the reception-cottage work is of highest importance.

The main factors in the majority of cases in the natural home are the parents, or possibly the lack of parents, or parents who are heedless of the needs of the boy, careless of his welfare, indifferent about his development, and blind to his interests. If the institution cottage life can be presided over by rather fine people with good ideals, with a true sense of responsibility for the work they are undertaking, with a sincere desire to help youth, with a high courage which failure after failure cannot shake; the kind of courage that allows them, after having failed with ten boys in a row, to start after the next boy with just as high purpose and with as much hope; people who haven't forgotten their own childhood; who are able to overlook some things sometimes, who constantly look for the opening and the opportunity to correct delinquencies privately, to try to set the child's face in the right direction and his feet firmly upon the

right path—if, I repeat, such people are in charge, the boy's training for the future is already well advanced.

But cottage life finds its own limits altogether too narrow to give the kind of expression and expansion demanded by growing youth. There must be an institutional program of training within which each cottage group may find challenge, worth-while interest, and personal satisfaction; and this brings us down to the real point in the entire question of institutional training.

The real, vital factors in an institutional program may be listed under four heads—medical, psychological, educational, and social. I wish to sketch briefly the fundamental factors in these four steps. I put the medical first because that is the place to begin. Briefly, our medical program covers just about everything that it is possible to do for a child through the care of teeth, eyes, internal medicine, any and all types of surgery, the correction of physical defects, and immunization. In addition to that, a vast amount of research work is carried on, always with a view to determining some particular thing that may result in a better understanding of some physical defect. Research studies have included: relationship between mental level and basal metabolism in juvenile delinquents; relation between mental level and syphilis in delinquent boys; relation between endocrine dysfunction and adjustment; control of the common cold; influence of diet on behavior and work response.

The psychological clinic provides a service available to the medical, educational, and discipline departments of the institution. In addition to making psychometric studies, it diagnoses cases of educational and social disabilities and makes remedial recommendations. It undertakes mental-hygiene treatment through personal handling of individual boys or through suggestions in the matter of training assignments authorized by the classification committee.

Through the psychological and the psychiatric services the most outstanding problems in the population are quickly spotted. In such cases separate programs of treatment and training are developed, designed to meet their special needs.

The psychologists are in an excellent position to do pertinent and valuable research work, both for publication in professional journals and for dissemination within state-institution circles. They have been productive in presenting research findings dealing with our particular Jamesburg enterprise, technical procedures, and with delinquency in general.

The Conference of Superintendents of Juvenile Correctional Institutions, which meets each year in New York for the discussion of common problems, worked out a composite training-school educational philosophy. This philosophy includes the following items: (a) industrial and social rehabilitation through re-education, (b) spiritual and physical development, (c) scientific child study, (d) provision for normal home atmosphere, (e) well-supervised 24-hour program, (f) inculcation of altruism, (g) exposure to good literature, (h) creation of an atmosphere of optimism, (i) education in self-evaluation, and (j) community education.

These ten points in an institution philosophy encompass all the elements of the most desirable kind of training. All these ten requirements may be realized in an institutional program. The difficulty with the average institution program is its inflexibility. The institution fails to appreciate the fact that the majority of boys become delinquent mostly because they have been subjected to mass education while their needs are so individual that mass education cannot possibly reach them. The institution has an unapralleled opportunity to individualize its treatment to the *n*th degree. Perhaps if more superintendents would substitute the word "treatment" for "education" in their programs, more would be accomplished.

Let us examine how some practical part of this ideal program may be accomplished in every institution. First, there must be an understanding and acceptance on the part of the personnel of the institution that this philosophy is practical and attainable. It won't do to start out with the argument that it would cost too much money; that perhaps some other school can do it but "my" school can't because they won't give me the help.

We must accept it as a true philosophy of the needs of delinquent children as a whole. Second, we must make a very honest self-critical examination of our program to find out what part, if any, of this philosophy is already incorporated in our plans and how well it is being carried out. Third, we must make a decision as to certain other items in the philosophy that we probably could accomplish with present equipment and present personnel, and, fourth, we must replan our program in order to make more definite advance toward the complete philosophy.

But just what is involved in the reorganization? Well, first, I think, must come the revamping of the educational concept. We must get away from mass education. Children represent such varying needs, such a wide range of mentality and of intelligence, such twisted and deviated personalities, are so greatly inhibited by bad home training, or lack of any home training, are so aggressive oftentimes in their delinquencies that any attempt to regiment them, except along the lines of their few common factors, is simply a waste of time, motion, and effort. It cannot successfully be done and at the same time give them the benefits which they should receive from their education in the institution. It is important to remove certain of the deadening competitive factors. This is done by classifying the schoolwork so that there is one kind of school, say academic, for those who are verbally minded, a manual education department for the very large number who are manually minded, and a third kind of school for that large number who fit into both or neither of the first two classifications. The next important step is to individualize the program within each of these three sections for each boy so that he is not in competition with other brighter boys. They are regimented or given group work when real, common factors are found. Third, the program must be flexible enough to permit any and every boy to be promoted when he needs promotion, regardless of the time of year, the period in the term, or whether any other boy is to be promoted at that time or not. Fourth, there must be great quantities of handwork of wide variety and capable of producing much beauty. It shall

contain a great deal of woodwork; bent-iron and sheet-metal work; clay, brush, crayon, and plastic work; automobile mechanics; plumbing, carpentry, masonry, painting. All these things found in the maintenance shops of the institution should become a part of the manual education of the institution, and all of them, yes, practically all the maintenance work, comes under the supervision of the director of education as to its training value, methods of teaching, and the orderly progression of the boys engaged in such trades.

Hand in hand with these and still a part of the school curriculum, there should be very liberal opportunity for participation in and study of music and dramatics. And by music I do not mean simply a brass band, although that is good in its place. I mean any and every kind of music—keyboard, string, reed, jew's-harp, comb and paper, or even just a rhythm band where there are no instruments whatever in the generally accepted sense of the term but drumsticks without drums, bells without clappers, anything with which a noise can be reduced to the rhythm of the piano accompaniment used. Each boy is simply producing rhythmic noise, but each feels that he is making the music. Such an experience has a high educational value for these boys who are too low grade to be regular band prospects.

The physical education is as important in an institution as the academic and is not to be shoved aside as merely sports or as an accessory to fill in spare time. Neither can the physical education be satisfied by organized games alone—baseball, football, and basketball, although all these may come in, and do. But a great quantity of other games, some of them apparently quite spontaneous but indirectly directed, should be carried out in co-operation with the medical department in order that any boy with physical defects, which may be ameliorated or eradicated through gymnasium help, shall have that benefit; also that those who, because of cardiac conditions or other physical defects need protection, may have that protection and be excluded from certain games. And all this academic, manual, and physical education must overflow naturally, as spontaneously as pos-

sible, into the cottage life. This is brought about through organized clubwork, and in the properly set-up force there will be no lack of club leaders. This clubwork and manual education work most naturally develops library enthusiasm at the cottages if the proper magazines and books are supplied. And the music and dramatic work finds its greatest outlet and greatest joy in cottage entertainment. Every cottage group, in the course of a year, should put on two or three well-prepared entertainments for the rest of the population; these entertainments—practically all of them homemade as to theme and dramatization—give an opportunity for many of the dullest, less successful boys to shine, and that is important.

Still as a part of the school—for you will notice that the school is both the head and the center of the entire training program—a great amount of organized character-building work goes on. Boy Scout work, one of the finest and most important developments that the twelve- to sixteen-year-old boy can participate in; Sea Scout work, just as important, just as interesting for boys over sixteen; Cub Scout work for the little fellows; Boy Rangers of America; Cadets under the Knights of Columbus and the DeMolay Organization—all these things are as much a part of the responsible school training as the three R's, the main difference being that in these organizations practically every employee in the institution, in one way or another, takes part and becomes a definite leader or teacher. But in order to carry out vitally the possibilities of this organized training, the institution must be prepared to meet the ideals of the organization it is trying to promote. For instance, you need not expect very enthusiastic Boy Scout work to take place within an institution where the management of the institution is afraid to relax discipline to the extent of allowing the boys to act natural, to go on hikes, to have a camp—in other words, to act like Boy Scouts because it fears the consequences to its system of discipline. If the work can't be done as wholeheartedly or as near 100 per cent

as any outside troop would make it, then it is better not to attempt it.

And, finally, there must be the most intelligent, painstaking, and persistent effort made toward a better religious education and a better personal understanding, and this is not accomplished by any routine methods. If it is going "to take," it has to be just as much alive as the Boy Scout program or the athletic program. It is accomplished through understanding, through persistently presenting the better things, through constantly trying to expose the boy to better practices and to better association. If there is a resident chaplain, he should be a man of very broad understanding, very tolerant ideas, with a very large sense of humor and a patience like unto Job's. And even then his task is most difficult. But how is he to carry out all this work? The answer to everything is a properly qualified personnel. If we could only make our people understand how much more economical it is to secure a highly qualified personnel, much of our problem would be solved. And when I say a highly qualified personnel, I am not necessarily talking of college graduates, although they are desirable. I am talking of those qualities in some people that give them something of the missionary spirit—those who find a satisfaction in service, those who in their personal lives succeed in rising at least a little bit above the general level, those who may properly be used as examples, teachers, and leaders. And not all such are college trained. If this same idea and feeling about the personnel in the care of delinquents is carried over into the field of parole, and if the follow-up work can be carried out with a sympathy and understanding born of that same will to serve, the work of the institution will not have been in vain, even among those of its discharged membership who fail. Even they have caught something from their stay in the institution. It is the popular theory, of course, that what they have gained from the institution is a greater knowledge of crime, new tricks they did not know when they came in, more nastiness, and more criminal development. Well,

we cannot claim this isn't true to some extent—that seems to be inevitable; but we cannot admit, because we do not believe, that even those cases are not better for having been subjected for a period of months to a wise, considerate, conscientious effort on the part of a body of good people to do them good.

The boy, returning to the community from his brief stay in the institution, should be qualified to fit admirably into some type of community program. It is to be deeply regretted that so few communities are prepared, either with adequate program or by active interest, to capitalize on the institutional interlude.

CORRECTIONAL-SCHOOL TRAINING FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN FROM COMMUNITY STANDPOINT

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IT SHALL be the purpose of this paper to present three aspects of the problem of institutional care for delinquent children. In the first place, it is important to call attention to an unwise and confusing heterogeneity of population that characterizes most institutions of this kind. The frequency and degree to which children of widely varying types, ages, and make-up are handled indiscriminately in correctional schools constitute a serious drawback to such programs. Many deep-set problems result therefrom. These can be corrected only by intelligent and general acceptance of carefully determined intake policies. Plans for such will be considered. In the second place, comparative reviews of programs and procedures of such institutions reveal a general and unfavorable similarity in most of their setups. They suggest dangers within what may be termed the "field of standard reformatory practices." How are these unfavorable situations to be avoided? In the third place, it is questioned whether re-education and rehabilitation of youthful offenders can be successfully undertaken and accomplished through anything less than a thorough, highly professional case-work practice. Are there possibilities of establishing these skilful individualized procedures within the correctional schools as they are now constituted?

These correctional schools are generally public institutions. They are supposed to reflect what citizen groups think and

want in the way of service for these particular children. There is pressing need to recognize this basic public responsibility for these unfavorable conditions that continue to exist so generally. This limited return from great public investment becomes a matter for consideration by each community. Correction of defects or modification of unfavorable attitudes that may be hereafter suggested are matters really controlled outside the institution itself, and most change will depend on outside understanding and pressure.

It can be established readily that the improper regulation of intake constitutes one of the greatest handicaps that faces correctional-school service. It may not be necessary to call attention to types of violations in such placements. Their seriousness and frequency are, however, very important, and listing a few of the most common will focus attention upon present faulty procedures that are widespread and costly.

1. The feeble-minded or borderline defectives have long been important and deterring factors in correctional-school care. They influence detrimentally the nature and the extent of the training program of many institutions. Their presence among those who are more nearly normal alters unfavorably the conduct of many useful activities. Disciplinary and training procedures are maintained on subnormal and non-productive levels.

2. Most correctional institutions admit many dependent children. These stand committed as delinquents upon formal court order generally from impoverished counties, or from those without the usual social services. A kind of custodial care is thereby provided which many local communities fail to offer on a sound, dependent child-care basis. Even classification systems within better institutions do not permit the suitable and easy adjustment of young children with those whose conduct shows long-continued and serious misbehavior. Adequate segregation for them is impossible in such setups.

3. It must be recognized that institutional placement offers a special form of treatment for delinquent behavior. It is not at all suited to the individual needs of all offending children. In-

carceration continues to be used in many instances because of its ready and traditional availability. There is lack of more suitable resources for care within the child's community. Probation, foster-home placement, and well-directed clinic services for child study and guidance are still undeveloped in many areas. The institutionalizing of large and unnecessary groups adds a purposeless and costly tax burden. It may do actual harm to many children so misplaced, and decreases accommodation for children who do need specialized institutional service. All are apt to be poorly dealt with because there is this unnecessary dissipation of resources and effort.

Casual survey of the population make-up of the receiving cottage in most of these institutions is informative. It shows very well the kind of administrative difficulties that must be anticipated in conglomerate handling of these unselected delinquent children. There may be a consciousness of problems by able managing officers and their workers. Intramural classification of children may be made as thorough as possible. But no institutional care can adequately provide for the widely varying needs of the different groups. With such an assortment—first offenders and hardened recidivists; serious violators and those seriously violated against; young and old; intelligent and dull; urban and rural; and all with personalities that are widely divergent and not understood—once wrongly admitted to an institution for care the struggle begins and it must continue. The burden of such unsatisfactory admissions is borne at great cost and at great loss by the institution staff. Their time, energy, and specialized skills are largely consumed to provide the most meager custodial services. Children for whom these facilities were originally intended are denied full opportunity for re-education and direction. Their adjustment in the institution may be jeopardized permanently by these unfavorable circumstances. The community itself is ultimately handicapped. When this perversion of early and sound purpose is thus allowed, the community cannot expect its properly selected cases that are committed to the care of the institution with reason to

show anticipated improvement. These ultimate costs become more and more overwhelming.

Ways out of this present discouraging and unproductive situation, therefore, become a matter that demands immediate and direct attention. It is important to recognize as an essential thesis of this paper that continued failure to regulate intake to such institutions constitutes one of the most serious and detrimental handicaps that tend to limit the rehabilitation of children who are so placed. Immediate modification of current procedures is not only desirable but imperative. Our responsibility toward the community and toward these particular children must be well carried.

It therefore appears useful to point out some rather practical and immediate methods of altering, to a degree at least, admission plans as they seem to be now generally and unsatisfactorily followed.

1. A great deal more responsibility might be assumed by managing officers themselves for the correction of some existing defects. Institutional executives who are backed up by the scientific findings of their own professional staff at point of intake could in many instances point out irregularities. They could persuade committing judges to alter faulty decisions. On the basis of rehearing, suitable replacement for obviously misplaced cases might be voluntarily arranged.

It is true that the institution and the court, in most jurisdictions as they are constituted at present, are definitely separated units. In the long run, however, they carry a joint responsibility for the welfare of these children. The child eventually does come back to the community and possibly again to the court that committed him. For both of these groups then, a reciprocal and co-operative interest and arrangement hold interesting treatment possibilities that should be carefully fostered.

A number of interesting factors, however, stand in the way of making this practice general at the present time. In the first place, there persist widespread dislike and considerable fear at the idea of indicating disapproval of its decisions to a court of

law. Though the motivating philosophy underlying services of both correctional schools and juvenile courts is directed basically toward the well-being of each child in question, this indefensible awe of the law prevents many requests for reconsideration of decisions. In the second place, some institutions are still without essential diagnostic services at time of entry. At no time can more than haphazard adjustment and accidental progress be anticipated from the beginning to the end of any delinquent's stay. The need for skilled child guidance throughout is apparent.

In the third place, there appears to be a most reprehensible toleration of unfavorable situations. This characterizes particularly the thinking of a good many of the institution personnel. It is the *laissez faire* attitude that allows policies of "well enough" to continue. It leaves unmet or poorly met important obligations toward those cases whom the institution should primarily be serving. Serious protest of supporting groups should be expected, and some constructive change in staff or program might be determined upon.

2. A well-planned effort to augment psychiatric facilities in every community, for the study and diagnosis of offending children before commitment, would be far-reaching in influence. It could do much to correct present limitations. It could remove much uncertainty in setting up suitable plans for the care and direction of such offenders.

Child guidance clinics are now usually a part of urban programs only. This invaluable service could well be extended to reach each child in the state who has problems that should be considered by experts. Some states have given attention to legislative and administrative changes so that such facilities might be more generally available. Some have proposed to make clinical examinations mandatory before the juvenile court may order correctional-school placement. It would appear that more community education and wider acceptance of scientific points of view in these matters must precede any such successful regulation even by statutory requirements. Development of

well-organized and conveniently located child guidance clinics, that are publicly supported and controlled and that operate on a state-wide basis, probably under the direction of the state department of public welfare, might have greater influence and more general value than any legal demand for precommitment examination could have.

3. The possibility of developing further a general guardianship plan for delinquent children whereby a state department of public welfare accepts direct responsibility for all committed children merits some consideration. This plan allows study and observation in temporary receiving centers after court commitment. These may be established and developed at the pleasure of the state department. Standards of service and personnel can be matters for their determination. There can be utilization of diverse institutional and non-institutional resources of the state for placement. There can be easy transfer and favorable substitutions in plan of treatment if needs suggest it. There can be the use of special medical and psychiatric services of the whole public welfare division and of other departments of state government. Some states have provided such diagnostic depots to deal with the proper distribution of adult offenders whose guilt has been established. A farsighted section of the Juvenile Court Act of Virginia places the responsibility for the welfare of all delinquent children directly in the state department of public welfare as guardian.

4. It may be useful to call attention at this juncture to recent enabling legislation and a covering appropriation to permit a new plan in Illinois. This law permits the managing officers of the state correctional schools to replace in foster homes boys and girls who are committed to their custody—that is, if extramural care rather than intramural training appears to offer an advantage that is determined on a careful social case-work basis. This innovation is not intended to furnish an auxiliary resource for children who are awaiting parole. It institutes, rather, under the correctional schools, a new form of care for certain delinquents. For them institutional commitment is deemed more or

less futile and unpromising. Although only beginning, the present operation of the Illinois plan under skilled case-work direction shows much that is favorable.

In considering a second point in the plan for this paper—some speculations regarding limitations and dangers of standard reformatory practices in the correctional-school field—it is necessary to restrict comment to certain illustrative generalizations. An attempt will be made to show wherein traditionalized concepts and procedures have caused dangerous and limiting restrictions. Institutional life might possibly have been made a satisfying and useful life-experience to these unsettled, unhappy, but still formative, children. It might—if a different philosophy of care had been followed through.

Institutional practices generally seem to have been directed, and largely continue to be directed, toward as complete conformity as is possible. These committed children generally are subjected pretty largely to an artificial standard of behavior, at least for some of them, in most institutions. The more alike in attitudes and in actions each case under care becomes, and the closer each adheres to the pattern of conduct imposed by administration and its sponsors, the greater the success with which the child and that institution are credited. When spontaneity of response and honesty of reaction are replaced by evidences of artificial conduct, damage rather than growth in personalities is to be expected.

An administrative matter suggests brief comment. It is easier to operate an institution by demanding conformity and obedience to stereotyped rules. It is harder to secure a staff whose training coincides with a view of spontaneity. It is harder to operate a school on this unaccustomed basis. The present-type staff in correctional schools may be regarded as unfitted to function in programs where spontaneity of response is the accepted conduct pattern.

This practice of encouraging conformity arises from important but common causes. Segregation in large groups is demanded by tax-paying bodies as an economical measure. It

presents to administrators a simple, orderly method of control for a large institution population. It lessens opportunities for expression, but it lessens, too, appreciably the dangers, uncertainty, and supervisory responsibilities involved in a program that is based upon the needs of individuals. It may be considered good saving to quarter, in close confinement, delinquent boys with widely varying characteristics. We may sort them out for institutional production and maintenance in arbitrary and unwelcome work units. We may pass them routinely through regimented activity according to administrative plan and convenience. We may even enforce a non-resistive conformity for the welfare of the institution. But if we deny to these individuals over a long period of time important emotional releases and satisfaction, there is always the likelihood of destroying any chance of their getting along well ultimately in the communities to which they return.

It might be useful, theoretically at least, at this point to suggest some examples of possible departure from present limiting practices. Such modified methods might work out more beneficially to children for whom we must agree such service is primarily provided.

1. If more intelligent and persistent effort were made to separate institutional children into the smallest possible homogeneous units, the personality of the individual child could be better protected and developed. Moreover, definite values of group-training might constructively result from the interplay of persons thus favorably thrown together.

2. Quality and quantity of direct supervisory control over such children by staff workers, particularly by caretakers, need intelligent consideration and invite sound improvement. Excessive duties, limited professional understanding, adoption of impersonal and authoritative attitudes by personnel, and such other delimiting factors of this unfavorable kind have tended to minimize the values of personal relationship. They make unproductive the very important emotional response between the child and his caretaker. Important treatment approaches in

this connection have been thus continuously and completely neglected. One of the internal developments of a new and effective correctional-school practice is the possibility of using such relationships to constructive purpose. They can be well fostered in a plan of institutional placement. This plan will demand more able, more dependable, and better-qualified persons for the staff. They must be professionally skilled and be compensated suitably for this important function. Some increase in outlay ought to bring great and lasting returns in modified and improved personal services.

3. The present general practice of permitting no genuine flexibility to exist in the program, that is, some ability to do as one feels and chooses in what seem important matters, must be a serious handicap to the reform of many delinquents within institutions. Rigidity would seem to strengthen only temporarily administrative procedures. Too few institutional services and practices are truly child-centered. That is, they are not directed definitely and at any cost toward the child's real good or toward his immediate and ultimate security and development. It should be possible to regulate each departmental service within the correctional school to fit it specifically to the changing needs of individuals.

4. Disciplinary methods still seem to show considerable lack of productive understanding. The tendency of "keep screws down" as a disciplinary precaution appears to cause unnecessary hardship and lessened opportunities for growth and development. Unqualified and unco-operative staff members impede in many cases constructive plans of more able associates. Less competent ones undo the efforts of those who approach violations on a sound and professional basis. Constant thwarting of well-directed treatment efforts suggests real loss in any institution service. Careful improvement of disciplinary procedures for dealing with violators within the institution may bring altered points of view regarding all treatment.

Appreciation of these important needs for change suggests at once the place and essential values of good social case-work

services within the institution. Recognition of their importance directs attention effectively to the final consideration of this paper—how may these skilful, individualized case procedures in correctional schools be constituted advantageously?

There is a well-accepted and simple principle or two regarding social case work to which attention may be directed in passing. In the first place, social case work is not a process to be imposed on those who need service to bring about important changes in their conduct. It is not the doing of something for these individuals as much as it is the making possible for them to do for themselves that really counts in social case work. It aids by encouraging efforts of their own to find new opportunities for growth and development and for an increased security. The contribution of the case worker in such situations becomes then a delicate and specialized skill. It demands professional understanding and experience that utilize a special kind and degree of service and direction for the proper handling of individual cases.

In the second place, it is generally recognized that social study is a useful and important process. Most institutions provide, to some extent at least, some such service. The procedure determines in various degrees the needs of the individuals for whom treatment is being considered.

Complete and well-functioning departmental services within the institution, as health, education, recreation, home life and training, vocational guidance and parole, lose much of their value unless there is a carefully developed plan to utilize them jointly and to modify each, as necessary, to meet individual needs and differences. Worth of these usual departments depends in large part on ability to fulfil the unusual demands of a case-work kind of particular children. It is an important function of case-work service within the institution to make sure that these needs are understood by the staff particularly, and are dealt with adequately by these quite separate departmental facilities.

There is another whole field of case-work activity within the

correctional school that invites a moment of speculative comment. In addition to the important manipulative services and other general duties of the case worker within the institution, there are certain specialized activities that can be carried only by professional workers. There are many instances of correctional-school placement that appear to demand close, psychotherapeutic relationship between client and worker if improvement in behavior is to be ultimately expected.

Three plans among others that might be used to place such case-work service in successful operation have qualities that invite particular consideration:

1. Recent thought of the psychiatric group stresses the desirability of restricting each correctional institution to a very few, well-selected cases. These may then be dealt with intimately and intensively by a competent staff, perhaps even by a single professionally qualified person. Present lack of necessary support to effect such radical changes lessens the immediate value of a proposal of this kind.

2. Case-worker service might be instituted by a regular department of the correctional school that might serve this specialized purpose. Such activity of the institution, as a functional division of the educational and vocational guidance unit, of the disciplinary system, of the parole service, or of such other department might be made increasingly contributive.

3. Existing mental-health units that some correctional schools have now might be appropriately extended and strengthened. At present their service in most places affords only diagnostic study at admission. It provides re-examination of disturbed and chronic violators who are in need of the special discipline that this department might recommend. Their scientific study is useful at initial classification conference, but subsequent treatment activity appears to proceed too often without them. It is difficult, moreover, to get institutional personnel to accept and follow recommendations of such clinics. They consider their ideas to be foreign, theoretical, and upsetting to traditional administrative practices.

Three methods that might improve existing and unfavorable conditions should be suggested. In the first place, if all staffs of correctional schools showed better qualifications for appointment and for their continued service than is true at present, workers could accept more easily and more certainly a scientific interpretation of the nature of the problems which they are attempting to handle. In the second place, if such a child guidance department within the institution could show more adequate personnel in numbers and in training, wider acceptance could be expected. In the third place, if managing officers and the executive group believed thoroughly and heartily in the essentialness of such scientific services, wider use and far-reaching improvements might be expected to follow directly.

The careful integration of such a department into the administrative plans of the institution has great importance in determining its value. The supervisor of this case-work service needs particularly professional status and authority with management and with staff, if it is really to influence all treatment. His position must be close to the general superintendent. His control of the use made of activities and services must be generally unrestricted. His adequate staff of qualified professional workers deals with each child of the institution in planned and thoroughgoing fashion.

Individualization of all treatment is an essential of modern penology. Having determined the advisability of a certain child's placement in a correctional school, the quality and the quantity of services offered him there are to be discriminatingly investigated. Permanence of benefit from this period of institutional direction will be closely related to the degree in which each child's needs are actually met by the regular and specialized services of the staff within the institution.

Such an approach demands a high standard of institutional organization and maintenance, insistence upon adequate classification principles before and after admission, richness and flexibility of activities that are satisfying and developmental, and a social case-work responsibility for the child and his family

which continues during his stay and after his release from the institution. Each correctional school must, therefore, become a treatment agency for a group of special children whose individual needs demand this costly and complicated therapy after the inadequacy of other treatment processes has been determined by careful and scientific investigations.

The matters that have been discussed suggest feasible and important changes in philosophy and practices of some correctional-school training. Attention must be given to ways and means of providing more satisfactory services to the groups of delinquent children within institutions. From the standpoint of the community, of the schools, and of the children themselves, improvements seem essential. Are they probable? What stands in the way of this progress?

HOW SECURE ADMINISTRATIVE SKILL WITH PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE FOR STATE AND LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICE?

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IN THE discussion of this subject which has special significance at this time we should, it seems to me, begin by agreeing or attempting to agree on what we mean by administrative skills. I find that some people consider the accounting or filing system, saving paper clips, determining procedure in the issuance of supplies, and a tidy desk to be tests of real administrative skill in a social service agency. Unquestionably these are all useful in social-work administration. Certainly a cost-accounting system is basic for administrative decisions, an adequate filing system is necessary for any social agency, and an orderly procedure in the smaller, less important details will prevent confusion and promote good work habits. In a large organization a good chief clerk or office manager is necessary to insure that these business details are properly handled. In a small organization the executive will find it necessary to spend considerable time on these business details himself. But whether the organization is large or small, he will always need to spend time in determining the relation between the cost sheets and the social values of the various services or activities. The important question in social-work administration is how the administrator spends the funds that are saved by a careful handling of supplies and the use he makes of the cost-accounting system, which provides the basis for planning but not the plans.

The really important functions of the social service adminis-

trator, it seems to me, are defining the objectives, determining policies, and planning the general work of the organization. He must fix the qualifications of the professional and other personnel required to carry out the plans adopted; must be able to budget funds wisely; must have the qualities of leadership which will draw from the staff an enthusiastic response to the challenge for service which the agency offers; and must be able to create loyalty and devotion not so much to himself as to the work which he and the staff have jointly undertaken to perform. The latter is of the greatest importance. Every member of the staff must be brought to understand the social and financial costliness of mistakes and be helping the executive to avoid them, while the administrator must organize the work and outline the policies so as to accomplish results with the fewest possible errors.

In addition to direction of the work of the staff, the executive must be responsible for public relations. For this a basket of tricks is not enough. He will, of course, need to know newspaper policies and prejudices, the agencies and organizations that can be expected to support or oppose his program, Congressional and legislative rules and customs, and political trends in relation to a social-reform program. Such information is not difficult to acquire; wise use of it is another problem. How to keep informed and alert, in the support of his program, those who should support it and bring to those who will under any circumstances be opposed a conviction that the administrator possesses real competence, are some of the problems in public relations which the public social-worker administrator must meet. In a large organization he can employ someone to help develop these public relationships, but the really important decisions will be the responsibility of the administrator. As Mayor La Guardia pointed out with the transfer of agencies from private to public support, attacks are to be expected. We must anticipate them, be ready to explain and justify our procedures, and to acknowledge our mistakes. Some mistakes cannot be forgiven or forgotten, but there are others which are a part of the day's work.

These the administrator must be alert to discover and quick to correct.

Courage, a sense of humor, an appreciation of values which enables an administrator to overlook and forget the petty and the trivial, fundamental honesty and forthrightness, when joined with professional competence, are undoubtedly the winning qualities over a period of time. The administrator who relies on "out-smarting the governor or the legislature" or on "wisecracks" instead of sincere and straightforward answers to questions may make the front page temporarily, but if he continues such a policy he will, or in my opinion should eventually, reach the back door. The desire to ridicule a critic is one to be resisted by the public agency executive, although his newspaper friends will encourage indulgence in it. It is good business for them, but a costly method of self-expression for the administrator. If some such release is necessary, it should be resorted to in private only. Fundamental qualifications which can be acquired only by education and experience are the professional equipment and competence in action which finally forces respect from critics and opponents as well as loyal support from friends. Appreciation of the value of the other qualities and policies which I have just enumerated can be taught in the history of the social-reform movement.

I have not forgotten that my subject is limited to social-work administration in state and local government. A few years ago that limitation would have been much more significant than it is today, but it still presents real difficulties. The specialist has been little used in public office in the United States. All the traditions of frontier life are against it. That anyone with a stout heart can do anything was the philosophy of the pioneer. Mr. Bryan, you remember, was sure any honest man could write a tariff schedule if one for revenue only were the objective. The present lack of appreciation of the specialist is not confined to our field. A wholesale grocer is still appointed chairman of a state railroad commission, a third-rate photographer to ad-

minister old age assistance, and a doctor with no training or experience in public health as state health officer. But some headway has been made. The schools of public health are helping in providing expertness in that field. We have learned that technical equipment is necessary for the head of a bureau of animal husbandry largely as a result of the training program of our schools of agriculture. Securing the appointment of a trained person for county agricultural agent, however, has not been so easy, but this need is becoming increasingly apparent. The demand for expert direction of road-building is now universal because the test of competence is so simple. What then about social work?

The great expansion of our public social services makes what is done by the public agencies and the standards they are able to establish and maintain of great importance today. However, no line should be drawn in a school curriculum between training for public and private social work. Both must know the interrelationships of our governmental structure, the limitations placed on social planning by federal and state constitutions, and the organization of our courts as well as the history of public welfare organization and the social-reform movement. A private agency cannot plan or carry out its program without taking into consideration the work of the courts, the available public institutions for dependents and delinquents, public hospitals and clinics, as well as public assistance programs. Nor are there any techniques of case work which the worker in the private agency should know that the worker in the public agency can afford to neglect. During the emergency when case workers were overwhelmed with an incredibly heavy case load, individualized treatment became, for a time, impossible. In the present investigations to determine eligibility for old age assistance, case-work techniques may be greatly simplified, but the case-work problems and decisions, involved in the care of the aged will soon develop. Moreover, one does not train for a lower standard of social work which a great emergency may re-

quire any more than a doctor is taught the techniques he may be forced to adopt in a serious epidemic.

Training for all social work must be broad professional training and not the narrow vocationalism which characterizes the apprenticeship system. In any profession specialization comes with experience. In social work, after general professional training one undertakes, for example, the care of dependent children, or the treatment of delinquents, family welfare work, or social research. While some field experience in these several types of work as well as academic training are a necessary part of education for social work, real expertness in a special field comes only with professional experience.

We often hear that it is of little use to train for the public services if appointments are not on a merit basis, but the reverse is also true. A real merit system is not possible for professional positions until professional standards have been developed. Without standards of training and experience the civil service tests become largely negative. Until psychiatry or pediatrics became a specialized field in medicine, no one was trained as a specialist in mental disease or the diseases of children. Until we had schools of public health, qualifications for this work could not easily be set up or rated. It is impossible to describe what is wanted until standards of training and experience are developed. Without accepted professional training and experience in public welfare administration, a civil service examination might save the wards of the state from political exploitation, but there would be no way of securing expert care until a basis for determining expertness had been developed. Julia Lathrop, who was a leading spirit in the development of the Chicago School, knew this from practical experience. She thought especially of the public services in working out plans for the school. The choice of the original name, "Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy," was, therefore, no accident. While the faculty of the Chicago School has been at work on the problem of training for the public service for twenty-five years, and Miss Breckinridge especially has made a great con-

tribution in this field, the educational problems have been by no means solved.

Perhaps one of the first questions you will ask at this point is whether it is possible to train for administrative work? There is a second one which I should like to ask. Is it possible for an executive to meet the opportunity for social service which the public agency offers without a knowledge of social service experience, the methods and techniques that have been tested and accepted or discarded, the relation of one agency to others and to the general objectives in social service? Can he lead or cooperate in social planning if he does not know social problems and the history of the social-reform movement?

In these last years we have had in important social-work positions politicians, real-estate agents, lawyers, bond salesmen, and insurance agents, to whom a social-work salary became attractive during the depression. We have seen the successful and unsuccessful business man tried as administrator. These non-professional administrators have usually not troubled to learn the history of poor relief or what accumulated experience indicated were the best methods for administering public assistance. Plans have been put forth as new and revolutionary which were in the Elizabethan medicine chest. As a result, we have boxed the compass in some of our relief policies. For example, cash relief, which social workers knew was the most desirable and in the long run the cheapest form of direct relief, was abandoned in 1933-34 for commissaries and chain-store standards of efficiency; distribution of surplus foods was to usher in a new economic principle, and grocery orders were to insure the right kind of diet for families on relief. We now are back to cash relief. But the ignorance of the accumulated experience with these forms of relief resulted in preventable losses in self-respect and individual initiative and of some money.

The administrator finds that some compromises are unavoidable from time to time. Only a trained and experienced administrator can say what concessions will merely delay and what will make impossible the development of the services along

right lines. In the human welfare field learning on the job by the trial-and-error method is a very costly and, for those whom we serve, a cruelly unkind method.

I am not saying that it was not necessary to utilize the services of those who were without training or experience during this emergency or that these people made no contribution to the program. I remember that in Washington, during the flu epidemic of 1918, persons who were neither doctors nor nurses gave useful medical assistance under medical direction. But this emergency service could not be recommended as a substitute for medical and nursing care. We know many fine people undertook social work for the first time during these depression years, discovered tastes and aptitudes for social service of which they had been ignorant, and are now preparing themselves for permanent professional work. But when the untrained and inexperienced were placed in positions of leadership, great losses were inevitable. In order to justify his appointment and bolster his morale, this type of appointee often begins with a public attack on the trained worker. Because social workers during these years have resisted the politicians, these attacks have increased during the past year. The untrained executive, knowing that social workers are not popular with the politicians, that they have been unable to make inadequate funds provide adequate family budgets and have lived from crisis to crisis, and that planning was in consequence impossible, concludes that attacking social workers may gain him support in several quarters. For such criticism the public social worker must be prepared. Attacks were bound to follow this period of mass relief. They are, however, particularly hard to bear when the mistakes of those who are not social workers, but have been employed during this emergency in social-work positions, are charged to us. Certainly during these years competent, trained persons working under untrained and inexperienced executives have devoted much time in trying to keep their superiors from making serious mistakes in policies and treatment.

However, we are talking not about emergency services but

the regular welfare services of the state and local government, which we hope will soon include all forms of public assistance. We have an accumulated experience and a literature on public welfare administration. Because a man has studied law or political science or sold bonds or insurance or real estate, he does not know the standards and techniques necessary for administering a public welfare program.

The position of president of Harvard University was recently vacant. The trustees selected not a business man—the business of the University is under competent business direction—nor someone with administrative experience in some field other than education, nor someone who was only a theorist in education. The man selected had demonstrated competence as a teacher and had presented a plan for the future development of the University which it was believed had great merit. The trustees were evidently convinced that Mr. Conant would be able to choose the faculty wisely and develop the curriculum and educational policies of a great university. These are the tests of administrative competence for such a position.

So in social work we must expect administrators to rise from the ranks of social workers on the basis of proven capacity. It is not desirable to begin administrative work without experience in a staff position. Some few have done so successfully, but they are less effective than they would be if their experience had been broader.

If we could pause for discussion at this point, someone would be sure to remind me that everyone who is a good case worker will not make a good administrator. That is unquestionably true. The superior case worker may turn her back on administration as offering only the dry bones of social-work experience, just as some professors do on administrative posts in colleges or universities or as leading medical clinicians do on administration. One hears from time to time of a professor who refuses an important college presidency because he prefers teaching and research with a smaller salary and less kudos or a different kind of kudos. There are also social workers who do not want to give

up case work and who might not be successful in administrative work if they did.

Nor so long ago I met a woman who had been appointed the head of a small public social agency for children. She had been a reporter for a newspaper and had abandoned her work to devote herself to a gubernatorial campaign. She told me at once that she did not know anything about the work—she did not need to, she explained; she was to be the executive and would employ experts. When I asked her what experts she was planning to employ, she said, "Oh, experts, you know what I mean." When I asked her how she came into the work, she cited her aid in electing the governor. "He wants someone he can trust on the job. You know he is responsible." At least she had learned some of the sayings which pass as arguments on this subject. Perhaps the governor got what he wanted; but the children did not get what they needed, nor the state what it was paying for. Experts hesitated to work under her direction because most or much of their time would have been spent in teaching her the most elementary things about her work and they were not teachers, and in any event she appeared to be unteachable.

But after training and experience there remains the question as to the method of appointment. Experience shows that professional competence and administrative skill can be made the determining factors in the choice of our public personnel under the merit system known as civil service. Administrators can be chosen by properly planned civil service tests of fitness, and I mean the higher as well as the minor posts can be filled in that way. Joseph Moss was chosen by civil service examination to be head of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, and so also were the assistant directors of that bureau. No social worker in Chicago that I know of questions their competence for the positions they hold. I am sure Katharine Lenroot could have qualified in any reasonable civil service test for chief of the Children's Bureau, or Jane Hoey as head of the Public Assistance Bureau of the Social Security Board; and, if an examination testing experience and training had developed better candi-

dates, they would both be the first to say that such candidates should have been appointed. Chiefs of some of the most important scientific bureaus in the United States Department of Agriculture are appointed by a civil service rating of qualifications. Training, previous experience, and an oral interview supply the necessary evidence as to qualifications for a social-work position. They can all be used by civil service. In addition to protection against political control, the great advantages of civil service are, first, that the range of choice is wider because individuals not known to the administrator to be available for a particular position will often take a civil service examination and, second, the position of the civil service appointee is one of greater dignity and security because the staff and the public know that neither personal nor political considerations governed the appointment.

One of the great mistakes that social workers and others make is in thinking that because their own motives in making an appointment not under civil service are of the best, the public will believe that they are. On the contrary it is necessary to be able to lay on the table, where everyone can examine them, the methods by which the decisions are reached. The competitive merit appointment is the best way to do this in the selection of personnel.

But civil service appointment of our state administrators is required in no state, and in only a handful of states are local administrators so appointed. In the remainder, the choice is between appointment by a governor or mayor or by a public welfare board selected on other than party grounds, the terms of whose members expire so as to give continuity to the work. It seems to me that the overwhelming evidence drawn from our experience in the United States favors the board instead of the so-called "cabinet" system. The specious arguments in favor of centralization and executive responsibility have been tested by experience from California to Pennsylvania. First tried under the Civil Administrative Code adopted by Illinois in 1917, social workers in Illinois know the results of this

system. From that time to the present we have had a change with every incoming-governor. Governor Lowden began with a business man who said, as he gave up the position to Len Small's appointee, that he was only just finding out what the work of the department was; we have also had a secretary of the Loyal Order of Moose, while a man of long experience in the department is, at present, its head. What next? Well, that depends on the outcome of the November election. Relief, W.P.A., and the conduct of the penitentiaries, where there have been scandals and known incompetence, will be discussed in the election; but it will be the political aspects which are for the law-making body to decide and not technical administrative problems, which will be the issues.

The recently enacted Indiana law which provides that the Board of Public Welfare may appoint the administrator, subject to the approval of the governor, also gives the board authority to conduct examinations for the other state public welfare positions. Although the Indiana state department cannot fix qualifications for the county administrators, it has at least the right to remove those who are found incompetent. The Alabama law of 1935 is better. It specifies that the commissioner must be appointed by the State Public Welfare Board "on the basis of education, ability and experience in the administration of public welfare and without regard to residence or political affiliation." Under this law eligibility for county commissioners is certified by the state department, and the County Board of Public Welfare appoints from the list of persons certified to be qualified by training and experience. Such an arrangement should give both local choice and professional competence. Election of the county public welfare commissioner as in New York is clearly the most uncertain way to secure professional competence or administrative skill although in the case of Ruth Taylor it has done both.

There are, of course, examples of the appointment of well-trained, competent persons even when political considerations governed. Mayors and governors have sometimes sought and

obtained professional competence and administrative skill among their political supporters, and a smaller number have disregarded all political consideration. But even when they desire to secure the best available person from within or without their party, governors and mayors are not usually good choosers. They do not have time to canvass the qualifications of those suggested for positions and are usually not themselves qualified to pass on the qualifications of those they appoint. I have also known it to happen that, when a governor or a mayor has appointed a person recommended by leading social workers, the appointee has been found wanting in the qualities which I have enumerated. He cannot get on with the work because he is obviously sensitive to the petty, partisan criticism he did not meet in private work or in a less conspicuous public post; he cannot rise above the multitude of details to consideration of the larger issues; he does not have the qualities of leadership which give the staff and the public confidence in him. An objective rating of training and experience is more likely to secure a competent person for a public agency than any other known method. Moreover, the very fact that selection is made by competitive examination resolves some of the most difficult problems of a public welfare administrator since partisan criticism is eliminated and he does not owe his position to any one person.

Criticism of professional policies is useful. It is the life-blood of a living service. We have more of it in the public than in the private services. In private work the administrator is encouraged by the commendations of his board. In the public service he is challenged by the opponents of his program. One great danger is that in the public services security will lead to mediocrity, to competence in avoiding decisions, and incompetence in social planning. We do not want administrators who lack the courage, capacity, and wisdom necessary for social experimentation. But we do not want reckless, untrained experimenters who are unwilling to consider criticism from those who are qualified to offer it. For the public services wisdom is greatly needed.

It is a quality not easily tested, but experience and a canvassing of references should indicate whether we can expect to find the necessary qualities in any of the candidates.

I have omitted in this paper all reference to the importance of a reasonably adequate salary in securing and retaining competent administrators. It is not necessary to remind you of that. Perhaps one should note that in the public services the administrators and professional staff, in general, are usually paid less as compared with those in private agencies while the clerical staff is relatively much better paid in public agencies. While seeking for more adequate payment for the professional group, it is important to hold the higher-salary scale for the clerical workers.

I have used, throughout this paper, the masculine pronoun in referring to the administrator, but I have done so only to avoid the awkward "he or she." The theory that sex is an important qualification for social-work administrators is disappearing in the light of experience. It is dissolving slowly so that fewer women than men have an opportunity to demonstrate administrative capacity, and failure by one woman still leads to general conclusions as to the competency of the whole sex. The private agencies have been on the whole, I think, more conservative in utilizing the training and administrative skill of women than have the public agencies. In these recent years some of the biggest jobs in administration of public relief have been or are being done by women. It is true that in the R.F.C., the F.E.R.A., and the W.P.A. the women usually have had a Ladies' Aid Society status, but we should not forget that Dorothy Kahn in Philadelphia and Charlotte Carr in New York have successfully carried great administrative responsibility while Gay Shepperson in Georgia and Florence Warner in Arizona have been able to survive the crises which have been the almost daily diet of state relief administrators. There are many other women who have been given an opportunity to demonstrate unusual administrative capacity during these years.

To assume that women must be passed by in the quest for administrative skill in social service is to fail to utilize much of

the administrative skill which is available. Paying women administrators on a lower scale is unfair to the men who are their competitors for these positions as well as to the women.

The problem of securing merit appointments for social-work administrators is not limited to public agencies. Some of us know private agencies in which the most important qualification in the choice of an executive was that the largest donor liked him personally or the president of the agency believed he would be a comfortable person to get along with, or he was chosen because his politics and views were considered safe and sound by the board while a superior person was turned down because of his religion or the lack of it. A witty public speech, broad shoulders, an ingratiating manner, or not embarrassing the board by taking a stand on any question have been known to be the basis of selection for private agency leadership. Private agencies sometimes develop their own brand of politics, which, because they are less open to criticism, may prove even more insidious than the politics which render incompetent or less effective our public social agencies.

All of which means that we shall have to go forward together in this matter of professional standards and professional competence. The qualifications for the two types of agencies will not be greatly different if merit rules in each case. One may find it easier to bear the eccentricities and inconsistencies of the politician than the eccentricities and inconsistencies of the rich. But for the public service we must have the choice made so that the public knows what qualifications were required and how each was weighted. This means an honest adherence to announced standards, while a private agency can change its standards at any time before the appointment is actually made. This necessitates a more careful analysis of the qualifications desired for public positions which, in turn, will require more careful consideration of the services and functions of the organization so that it will be by no means only red tape. Some liking for public relations is a help to the private agency executive; it is necessary for the executive of the public agency. If the taste

is not a natural one, for public social-work it must be acquired. Too often the social worker, who will try with the greatest patience and skill to discover and understand the personality problems of a client, thinks it unnecessary to understand the attitudes of board members and political leaders. A case-work approach to them as well as to clients should be adopted.

The task of being a successful executive of a public social agency is not easy. This should not discourage those who want the opportunity for service on a great scale and who like to climb mountains.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION AND THE SKILLS IT DEMANDS

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FOR the last five or six years our attention has been so fixed upon a specialized type of skill needed in social work that we have concentrated upon case work and the case worker. This was the result of the overwhelming need for case workers in the emergency relief programs. But there are many skills besides those required of the case worker which must be brought into the service of a comprehensive public welfare program, and it is appropriate for us to consider some of these in detail.

PUBLIC SERVICE INCLUDES MANY CALLINGS

Personnel required for the public service includes almost all the callings common to private enterprise. Not long ago a conference was held at Princeton University for the purpose of considering the problems of training for the public service. The conference was held under the auspices of the Public Administration Clearing House and brought together a distinguished group of administrators, students of government, and others selected for their ability to contribute philosophical or practical ideas on this subject.

It developed early in the deliberation of this group that there is no warrant for the establishment of an isolated university or college program directed exclusively toward preparation for the public service. It was observed that both public and private services include in general the same occupations and professions

or scientific callings.¹ True, there is a content of information and background which is peculiar to the practice of a public service but this may usually be acquired as a process of in-service training, which may include that type of pre-employment practical experience which has been defined as an internship, but it certainly will include a long and arduous apprenticeship after the candidate has entered upon his duties as a public servant.

The British experience is usually and properly used to illustrate what is meant by the development of public service as a career or profession. The outstandingly successful British practice points toward the wisdom of broad education with distinct ability to master subject matter followed by early recruitment into one of the several career ladders where the candidate is carefully trained in the content of public administration. A procedure of this type has made the British public servant noteworthy. Turning from a generalized consideration of training for public administration to training for public welfare administration, we find that many practical approaches for this type of career are open.

HIGH ORGANIZING ABILITY REQUIRED

The services to be rendered by a public welfare administration require organization and management ability of a high character. A number of the professions will continue, necessarily, to supply personnel to the staffs of public welfare administrations; many of those trained in science, medicine, engineering, pedagogy, law, etc. or in statistics or in business management will always be needed in any public welfare organization, and these will all contribute a share of outstanding personalities who will rise to posts of administrative responsibility.

Such recruits are necessary in order to make the program really effective. Many will remain to serve long and faithfully as skilled technicians. But some of them are bound to show

¹ *Training for the Public Service*, chap. v, "The Problem of Preparation," Bulletin No. 49, Public Administration Service, Public Administration Clearing House (November, 1935).

qualities beyond those of technical proficiency. Personality, leadership, and capacity to direct the work of others will be required for promotion to subexecutive and major executive posts throughout the public welfare field.

There is, however, one essential quality which we must look for in the candidate for administrative responsibility in a public welfare organization; namely, familiarity with the important body of technical skill and knowledge which the trained social worker has to offer. Much can be expected from those who have had opportunity for professional social-work training. But appropriate skills can also be gained through experience in the field while serving in one of the numerous branches of the service. If the candidate for an administrative post personally lacks the requisite detailed knowledge, he must have, at least, a sufficient appreciation of the value of the technician's contribution to make intelligent use of trained staff members, to respect their skills and their contribution to the organization, and to give effective leadership in programs calling for technical understanding.

SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE REQUIRED

In other words managerial ability, no matter how outstanding, is an insufficient qualification for a public welfare administrator. How often and in what diverse places has this fact been demonstrated in emergency relief administration days. Too often persons having indisputable capacity as executives fall short as public welfare administrators because their previous experience has not provided them with essential background information upon which to make sound decisions in this specialized field. It has been observed that such executives do not know how to make proper and advantageous use of staff members who could, through their advice, help avoid costly mistakes. And mistakes in administering a public welfare service mean unnecessary human misery, demoralization, and thwarted human efforts as well as the waste of huge sums of public money.

Dean Edith Abbott of the Chicago School of Social Work has

ably pointed out² that the content of information and skill in social service is such that even those who have attained eminence in other branches of social science make absurd and costly errors when they attempt to evaluate the work of, or to direct, those engaged in social service. In a paper read before the American Statistical Association in 1930 Dean Abbott was able to cite instance after instance where men eminent as statisticians, but lacking special training in social work, had blundered to the point of folly when attempting to deal with data from the field of social service. Her point was that while proper preparation and use of statistics constitute an essential to sound administrative planning in the public welfare field, requirements in this field are such that, to be of real use, the statistician must be trained in social service as well as in statistics.³

PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION

If there is such a broad and technical content in social service, why is it that this emerging profession has found it difficult to obtain general recognition? It is impossible, of course, to probe this question to the bottom. We can, however, point to the relative youth of the profession. Law claims more than eight hundred years of history while medicine and the priesthood date to dim antiquity.

Our professional education has as a rule laid too little stress on the study of economics, history, and government. In common with other professions far too many social workers show themselves to be fundamentally uninformed with reference to important current problems. As a result we all are familiar with the type of social worker who embraces economic fallacies and panaceas eagerly and uncritically and proclaims them as new dispensations under which misery, poverty, and human futility will disappear. Such utopianism shocks economists, business men, legislators, and others who might be helpful under

² *Social Welfare and Professional Education*, chap. iii, "Some Basic Principles in Professional Education for Social Work" (University of Chicago Press, 1935).

³ *Ibid.*, chap. vi, "Social Work and Social Statistics."

favorable circumstances but who "see red" forever afterward at the mention of our profession.

The professional association has attempted to advance standards for qualification and admission rapidly. It was only a few years ago that two years of high school plus an apprenticeship with a recognized social agency was deemed to be sufficient preparation. Now we have moved our standards to a point which bars persons acceptably occupying positions of responsibility in recognized social service organizations.

MERIT BASIS ESSENTIAL

What has been said heretofore has been postulated upon an assumption that the public welfare administration will operate on a merit basis with security of tenure for competent personnel. It must be recognized, of course, that there are comparatively few civil service states—only nine, in fact—but if we are to provide the best public welfare administration we know how to provide, adequate civil service laws are essential. The list of civil service states includes New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Colorado, California, Wisconsin, and Maryland. These, together with the federal government and approximately 360 municipalities, are all that operate under civil service statutes. As a matter of fact about one-third of all public employees are covered by this list. The remaining two-thirds represent territory in which the spoils system is frankly operating.

There are still too many who believe that the party system of government depends upon the spoils system. There are still too many who believe that public employment should be distributed on a geographical basis or within political groups. There are still too many who believe that the duties of a government official are so plain and simple that any man or woman of ordinary intelligence can readily master the duties necessary for qualified performance. Frankly, if there is to be no stability in the organization of public welfare services, if there are to be frequent upheavals and wholesale discharges of personnel as a result of the fortunes of partisan politics, then it is inevitable

that public welfare functioning will be slipshod and makeshift, extravagant and blundering, condemned to operate at mediocre levels.

PUBLIC WELFARE IS A BIG BUSINESS

The field of public welfare administration is in process of becoming one of the largest segments of business, public or private. Necessarily, large decisions will have to be made—decisions affecting the expenditures of as much as \$12,000,000 a year in a state like New Jersey for the “grants-in-aid” section of the Social Security Act, or decisions affecting the construction and operation of institutional plants costing millions to build and large annual expenditures thereafter. These decisions not only have to do with huge sums of public money, but they also concern the health, the well-being, and the very lives of many thousands of individuals and family groups. In the case of the federal government, with its huge ventures into the more permanent forms of public welfare, the expenditures range to the hundreds of millions of dollars and will, within a comparatively few years, involve billions of dollars and the lives of millions of citizens.

What background shall be required of the executives and their associates? Certainly the highest qualifications as to intelligence, education, and training, as to character, and as to stability of personality must be required. It is important to indicate the kind of skills to be expected of municipal, county, state, and federal officials, from case workers, members of other professions engaged in the work, and the service employees who are necessary to the proper functioning of the administrative and technical procedures.

PUBLIC UNDERRATES WELFARE WORK

These problems at present are beyond the imagining of the average citizen. We have before us the many recent unhappy experiences of E.R.A. and W.P.A. to make us realize how easy it is for the work and responsibility of the case worker to be misunderstood by the client, the press, and officialdom.

We recall the rapidly shifting policies which have characterized emergency relief organizations—the changes from the food orders of E.R.A. to the extravagant expediency methods of C.W.A., the shift back to E.R.A. food orders, the change to work relief wages, the delays and the inadequacies and the makeshift appointments of W.P.A. We recall how the newspapers seized upon that colorful word “boondoggling” and the changes that were rung by delighted newspaper reporters and editors. We have been exasperated at extravagant expenditures of public funds for projects which were unsound in concept when there were worth-while projects being rejected. Whatever the exigencies of the part, it is unthinkable that the social-work group or the public generally will excuse muddled groping, incompetent leadership, and unsound policies traceable directly to the fact that improvisation replaces planning. We have been through the period when executives had to be trained by the mistakes they made and the emergency character of the work served as an excuse for tolerating conditions which orderly planning would avoid.

Are we preparing now to repeat the kinds of mistakes again as we plunge into vast programs for the relief of the aged and the blind and aid to dependent and crippled children; will there be the same hit-or-miss selections of personnel, multiplying forms, and records, many of which are unnecessarily expensive and unrelated to the problems of management? Are we preparing to adopt far-reaching programs and policies without building up a supporting background of understanding with the public, the press, and officials upon whose understanding success or failure largely rests? Will there be a recognition of the importance of checking with competent state and local officials considerations involved in the federal-state relationship? Let us frankly raise these questions—that is our best guaranty that they will be considered.

RANGE OF REQUIRED SKILLS IS BROAD

As was indicated at the beginning of this paper the range of professional, business, and service capacities required by public

welfare administration is a broad one. Every branch of medicine practiced in a modern medical center or teaching hospital is called upon for contributions of its special service—psychiatry, internal medicine, gynecology, pediatrics, eye, ear, nose, and throat specialists, chest specialists, urology, surgery of many types—the entire catalogue of the medical and surgical specialities will be represented on the staffs of the institutions and agencies of a public welfare administration. Assisting these will be dentists, pathologists, roentgenologists, psychologists, physiotherapists, hydrotherapists, laboratory technicians, and nursing staffs competent to meet any requirement that would be demanded by a modern general hospital. The educational services include administrators, teachers of regular and special subjects, vocational teachers, special teachers for the blind, the deaf, and the mentally handicapped, recreational leaders who direct therapeutic recreational and occupational activities of correctional and treatment institutions.

Services necessary to the functioning of an institution provide a problem of staffing similar to that of a large hotel. There is the purchase, storage, and preparation of food, the care and maintenance of buildings and equipment, problems of house-keeping, operation of laundries, operation and maintenance of heating and power plants, farm and dairy operation on a large scale, preservation and storage of foods, and planning and supervision of the labor of inmates and patients.

PROBLEMS CHALLENGE BEST TYPES OF MINDS

This is by no means a complete inventory of the types of skills required in public welfare administration. It is sufficiently detailed, however, to emphasize the fact that the personnel requirements should be as high as those of any private or governmental undertaking. The character of the problems facing any responsible staff member, executive, or professional practitioner are such as to challenge his interest and his ability to meet exacting requirements. Public welfare administration is still in such an experimental state, with so many questions of policy open and so many opportunities to make permanent con-

tributions of a scientific or professional character to methods of treatment and prevention, as to attract the best types of minds.

Now where are the weak spots in our ability to obtain able personnel? First, it has already been pointed out that, in many areas, the public does not now understand the importance of putting welfare services on a sound basis in order that constructive work may be done. It is the duty of public welfare administrations to carry on continuous and effective instruction of the public through the press, through public forums, through every possible channel, as to the causes of dependency and delinquency. It is our duty to lead our communities from that point where there is satisfaction with methods which end with custody or treatment to realize fully the great need for effective community-organization prevention that exists everywhere today. It is our responsibility and problem.

Second, there has been notable indifference to the importance of trained and competent personnel as the key to the solution of the welfare problem. Again, it is for public welfare administrators to provide the kind of leadership which eliminates political patronage from the public welfare service. We should support those in our communities who demand that recruitment and selection of officers and employees of public welfare departments be confined to those having the skill and character required to perform this kind of work well. Third, we have insufficiently recognized the fact that problems of dependency and special treatment and care afford opportunities which should interest the highest types of professional worker—particularly now that we have come to know that the job does not end with amelioration of suffering but extends into thrilling adventures in treatment and research and the establishing of effective well-organized preventive procedures. Fourth, in areas where there is civil service, the need exists for us to educate these agencies.

PROJECT METHOD OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

No state or individual speaks with finality as to the methods of obtaining the support of public welfare work which comes

from widespread understanding of the problems and the methods employed to meet them. Some demonstrations, however, are worthy of study and emulation. In this realm we have in New Jersey an example of what is in reality the application of the "project method" in adult education. Outstanding citizens exercise certain responsibilities of management in connection with institutions and agencies. These make contributions of experience from their own special fields, working with skilled and experienced executives. Members of these boards are drafted from the standpoint of their standing in their communities and give an indispensable service in checking and supporting the judgments of professional administrators. At the same time they become familiar with the welfare problems and become able and dependable interpreters to their communities of the work in which they are participants.

In the last analysis public welfare administration will obtain the skilled personnel which it needs only when the public fully realizes that ghastly blundering and incompetence, with its waste of tax money and inexcusable human frustration, will go on until placement in these services is on a level with employment and advancement in independent professional practice. When private enterprise needs to obtain support for its policies, the management takes steps to show why the policy under inspection is in the interests of those served. Public welfare administration deals always with the public and must, therefore, use every practical ethical method available to bring home the truth that the public business requires the best of trained personnel and the most dependable interpretation.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION AND THE SKILLS IT DEMANDS

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COMMISSIONER ELLIS has indicated in a very definite way the personnel needs of modern public welfare administration. I should like to be able to tell you how public welfare administrators can get and keep adequate and competent personnel, but there is no ready-made formula which assures satisfactory end results in dealing with the human relationships involved. Aside from the problems of technique and management, there are such imponderables as public attitude, citizen interest, and our political philosophy.

It is significant that there is a vigorous and developing interest in this matter of the selection and handling of public personnel all over America. In conferences like this I have noticed that discussions of personnel have taken the place of much of the time given in years past to discussions of law, of policy, of technique and procedure. The problems involved in the administration of government and the selection and handling of public workers are being discussed not only by professional groups and public officials, but also by civic groups, by luncheon clubs, in casual gatherings, and even around afternoon bridge tables.

The National Civil Service Reform League and the National League of Women Voters are both conducting active campaigns to protect and extend the merit system. Colleges and universities are generally teaching the dignity and the importance of public service for the first time and are encouraging a part of

their best men and women to look toward the public service as a satisfying and worth-while career.

I do not think that this increasing interest in better standards of public service has developed by reason of any change in our political morality, but rather because responsible public administrators now realize that they must be permitted to assemble and maintain a competent and stable personnel if they are to discharge their responsibilities in any satisfactory way. The public administrator is faced today with two alternatives; there are no others. Either he must have an adequate and competent departmental personnel, handled in an effective and enlightened way, or his administration must collapse in failure.

It was news when J. Edgar Hoover said, some days ago, that Public Enemy Number One is Old Man Politics. This was not news to the administrators of this Conference or to any public official; it was old stuff. Nevertheless, it was important because the need for constructive action in dealing with our public personnel problems must be dramatized if it is to be realized.

While, as a people, we may very well be ashamed of our accomplishments in dealing with our civil service, we ought not to forget that there is a very considerable body of knowledge about public personnel procedure which is entitled to our respect. Personnel management in business or in government is, after all, a new thing. It does not go back more than two generations, so we need not be unduly discouraged. But public administrators, both in the welfare field and in other fields, ought to join forces, decide upon the basic principles upon which they can find agreement, and be willing to accept the best counsel and procedure in the personnel field, as they accept the best in their own respective fields. If we can do this, then the time for progress has really come.

Government does and will loom large in our lives and activities, but the end of education is not preparation for government work but for life. There are no really new and strange phenomena in public administration. All our public and social relationships today are our old relationships grown large and com-

plicated. I have never believed that we could or would solve either our social or political problems by training young people exclusively for the public service. This would result in the creation of a caste system, a sort of civic priesthood, contrary to everything that is American and based upon absolutism.

And then we have this very appealing notion of the simplicity of public administration and the work that civil servants do. We are advised that our public service should not be a series of pigeonholes but shining ladders reaching to the skies of high and honorable accomplishment, with gleaming steps sharply delineated against an appealing background, awaiting only the anxious feet of those who are to tread them with competence and distinction. We talk convincingly of a career service as the answer to our problems and point to the British system as the surest guide for America.

I agree with these sentiments, but only to the extent that I can see them as correct, sound, and applicable. The problems and the needs of public personnel are not simple. The skills required in government run almost the whole gamut of human action. The federal service maintains approximately twenty-five hundred different classifications sufficiently different in the work and qualifications required to warrant, in the minds of the staff of the United States Civil Service Commission, at least, separate titles, differing qualifications, and different tests or procedures for recruiting.

In our own state service we recognize approximately a thousand separate positions or classifications. Commissioner Ellis has listed some three hundred and fifty titles of positions which actually appear in the staff of the various divisions and institutions within our state department of institutions and agencies. To be sure, many of these positions represent a series or group of allied positions and may be built into the ladders of advancement. But I take the position that a complicated problem cannot be made simple merely by decree and that we must face any such problem with open eyes and be prepared to subordinate academic notions to existing facts.

I have great respect for the British service, but there is a great deal of misinformation here about it. When we talk about the British policy of recruiting the most promising young men for careers in the British government, we are talking about the administrative class only in the Home service and in the Colonial service. In 1933 there were 1,212 posts in this class in the United Kingdom and a comparable number in the Colonial service. Nothing is said about the more than four hundred thousand other workers in the British Home civil service, the municipal and local government employees, and the two hundred and fifty thousand in the Colonial service. These are recruited in several ways, not all representative of the best. The British service has stability and tenure, but all its personnel problems are not solved and the British people do not maintain that this is so. But the British people have done many things that we have failed to do in America. They have not only assured life service to those who are below the career class and provided careers for a limited few, but they have given to their civil servants and their administrative officers their confidence and respect. As an example of this, note the recent news articles reflecting the chagrin and regret of the whole British people over the premature release of information respecting the National Budget by a cabinet minister. We do not take comparable matters with the same seriousness in America. The British people have given their civil officers, high and low, a full measure of confidence and respect; they ask, and require, in return complete honesty and devotion. Here is the lesson for the American people and those who serve them.

Our public service today presents many challenges. The first challenge, perhaps, is to make it better. It does require high levels of ability and competence. Public administrators must be reasonably free to recruit their personnel from among the competent and well-prepared. The public worker must be given reasonable assurance of fair treatment, of tenure, of pay which will at least insure decent living standards, and of reasonable career opportunities in accordance with his capacities. We need, in the

public service, some of the best brains of the country, but not all. We need capable administrators, but not all our civil servants need be potential commissioners and department heads. It is not an army of generals that we should aim at, but an organization of men and women fitted for their several activities and with opportunity to grow and develop as their talents and industry will permit.

I strongly support the efforts of the social welfare group to raise their own standards of education and fitness. I believe in these movements toward definite training requirements and certification of social workers and of other professional groups. You are not failing because this has not already become the accepted practice. You may be going too fast as it is. In an effort to keep up with the procession much of the formal training in social work which we have developed lacks, it seems to me, depth and breadth and that distinctive quality into which it will ripen. I think that we must continue, for some years to come, this process of recruiting our administrative and divisional leaders in the welfare field as in the whole public service both from the ranks and from business and the professions, much in the same way as the English are recruiting their small administrative service from the universities and from the service itself. I think, also, that we must accept the responsibility for a great deal of in-service training.

I subscribe to the thought that the Commissioner has expressed—that successful business experience in a narrow field does not assure enlightened public administration. Good career men and women do better in public office than those experienced in business alone. But the career administrator must continue responsive to public thought, understand economic as well as social conditions, and avoid programs and activities beyond the current willingness or capacity of the people to support. The administrator must not forget the public he serves.

Public welfare, as all government, is now big business. Government is our greatest business, and unless it can be handled wisely, effectively, in accordance with sound business and social

policies, it threatens to lead us straight into impossible debt, turmoil, and failure. If we could draw a consolidated balance sheet of all our expenditures, of the results obtained, and those that might have been obtained had we done the best we knew for the past generation, it would be appalling. I support the Commissioner's statement that our executives must not be trained by the mistakes they make. The cry of emergency should be looked upon as a confession and not as an alibi.

Now, what steps should welfare administrators, public officials generally who see their problems and responsibilities clearly, and citizens take to get and to keep competent public personnel and thereby assure better government? I state the question broadly because the same answer applies to the whole service. It may be well to say, also, that these ends cannot be attained uniformly and in accordance with any time schedule or by the adoption of any formulas or set of procedures. The important thing is for us to go in the right direction and as rapidly as conditions and circumstances will permit. With this understanding it would seem that the measures to be taken are fairly evident.

First, there must be wider civic education so that citizens may know the character, the extent, and the purposes of the undertakings of their governments as a condition to their interest in and intelligent support of public administrators and public administration. Second, we must change our political philosophy. We must come to see that public service is not party service, and that partisanship and public service must be separated and kept separated in our thinking and practice. Third, the people must be realists with respect to the pronouncements of their elected officials. They must measure profession by performance only. Nearly all the work of government has nothing to do with party or general administrative policy. It follows that the selection and the treatment of the workers should not be on a political basis.

Fourth, there is need for a legislative and an administrative program for dealing with personnel administration which public

administrators can understand, accept as a platform, and advocate. Public administrators who have it will lose something of their independence of action by the adoption of a central personnel system, but they will gain infinitely more in this pooling of prospects of administrative success. Fifth, administrators must accept their relationships and responsibilities in connection with the personnel agency. They must clearly understand this relationship and insist on its intelligent observance by both parties concerned. Sixth, the personnel agency must render a reasonably complete service to departments, administered from the standpoint of co-operation with administrative authorities and not as something handed down from above which, however unpleasant, administrators must take.

I know that the processes of testing, of pay scales, of promotion, discipline, and retirement are in your minds. I have not discussed these in detail. I say with confidence that the standards of preparation and fitness which welfare administrators require can be established, and successful testing methods may be applied not only to the rank and file of untrained workers, but to the technical and professional groups reaching up to the very top.

The adoption of social-security legislation by the states and the federal government will add greatly to the numbers of welfare workers and administrators required. In money, in responsibility, and in service public welfare will soon come to represent half of the cost and work of all government. Welfare administrators and those interested in successful service and good government must, it seems to me, aggressively champion adequate personnel administration.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE APPLICATION OF A VOLUNTARY MERIT SYSTEM FOR SELECT- ING PUBLIC WELFARE PERSONNEL

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THIS paper proposes to show how methods of selection of personnel with favorable standards and on a merit basis were established and have been maintained so insistently and satisfactorily in three separately constituted, public agencies of the Chicago area. Some advantages and disadvantages of the particular methods of selection that were used will be briefly discussed. Certain general principles regarding merit selection of personnel that grow out of these three experiences will be suggested. Out of the long activity of this particular community in such matters there are generalizations that have a good deal of consequence in determining further developments in good personnel selection.

Present creditable status of professional personnel in the Juvenile Court of Cook County has been reached only by a series of difficult advances.¹ A few Chicago citizens, active in the 1893 World's Fair for the purpose of caring for children, were awakened by the existing inadequacy of old methods. They determined to found a children's court for better official handling of these important cases. The first "Act to regulate the treatment

¹ Elizabeth Parker, *Personnel and Organization in the Probation Department of the Juvenile Court of Cook County (1899-1933)*. (An unpublished dissertation submitted to the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts.) This thesis represents much valuable material regarding the Chicago Juvenile Court. The above statement is a digest from this thesis.

and control of dependent, neglected and delinquent children" was passed in 1899. With a system for their care as already established in Massachusetts, probation officers were appointed. A committee of citizens agreed to raise by public subscription the salary of these workers. The chairman was authorized to engage probation officers "as she deems it necessary."

In 1905 an amendment to the Juvenile Court Act permitted for the first time in Illinois support from tax funds of this probation staff. Soon after this legislative change made possible official appointments, the Cook county Civil Service Commission gave examinations, the first of their kind, both for the chief probation officer and for the regular officers of the court. Similar examinations were held again in 1908 and 1911. They appear to have covered chiefly spelling, arithmetic, a statement of experience, and some review of general duties. A committee on rules reported the following requirements for one of the last examinations for probation officers that was conducted by the Civil Service Commission: one year's residence in Cook County; citizenship; age limits, male, twenty-one years, female, eighteen years; character, "good moral character," of temperate habits and of sound health.

In 1911 serious administrative difficulties with the Board of Cook County Commissioners, who desired control of the court to afford themselves greater patronage possibilities, began to appear. Recommendations regarding personnel for the Juvenile Court that were made at this time by an official investigating committee of representative citizens, appointed to view the situation impartially, are illuminating. This committee believed the personality qualification of probation officers so important that "It would be unwise to set any form of scholastic prerequisite." They suggested that the examination was to bring out general education and intelligence as well as qualifications for the particular position.² They agreed that there should "under no circumstances be any question which would assume

² See Jane Addams, "The Humanitarian Value of Civil Service," in *The Survey*, XLVI, 14, for a discussion of the feeling current at that time.

previous experience in the position to be filled." About this time the qualified and able chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court brought suit for reinstatement to this position after his ruthless dismissal for political reasons.³ By a Supreme Court decision⁴ that section of the Juvenile Court law permitting selection of probation officers by the Board of County Commissioners through its Civil Service Commission was declared unconstitutional. The right was thereafter vested in the court in the person of the Juvenile Court judge. Despite immediate value, real advantage of this particular decision to the Juvenile Court movement in Illinois has always been a matter of question.

The farseeing judge did not feel that the selection on this basis was a wise method to follow. He appointed, therefore, an extra-legal Citizens' Examining Committee. He instructed them to conduct a competitive examination and to compile a list of eligible individuals for his official use in making appointments. He determined to choose from this list the officers as vacancies arose and as the county board appropriated funds for additional personnel. Six hundred applications came to this first Citizens' Committee; 382 people took the examination, and 37 were appointed. A Citizens' Examining Committee of the same sort as this has remained and given service as an increasingly skilful body. It has continued favorable operation because of the reliability of the Juvenile Court judge to select intelligent, interested, and qualified committees and because the work of these committees has been undertaken in thorough and honest fashion. Examinations were held at about three-year intervals until 1925, and from that time to the present, about every two years, with increasing competition and efficiency.

Some major results of this experience in personnel selection in the Juvenile Court of Cook County may be listed as follows:

1. Standards have risen rapidly in the twenty years in which

³ See S. P. Breckinridge and E. Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1912), p. 202 (Testimony of Judge Pinkney).

⁴ *John Witter, Appellee v. The County Commissioners, Cook County, et. al.* (Appellants, 256, *Illinois Reports* 616 at 619-26 [1912]).

choice of probation officers of the Juvenile Court has been made under this system. The examining committee raised the educational requirements in 1933 to a "Bachelor's degree or its equivalent." Since 1933 one year's professional experience in a social service agency of recognized standing or one year of training in a school of social work, including supervised field work, also has been uniformly required. These were progressive steps for all social work. They helped to establish a belief in the community that actual training was necessary if social work was to become an accredited profession.

2. Dependability of examination for selection purposes has been progressively increased by scientific and precise refinement of the examining procedures to measure the fitness of individual candidates. Careful weighing of crude scores that each applicant with initial qualifications earns on written and oral examinations and on the basis of education and experience has stressed those essential qualities that are recognized as most desired in such professional workers. It has come to give proper emphasis finally to the important personal and professional characteristics of each candidate. The increasing care, too, with which all the parts of each individual's examination have been prepared and graded has improved tremendously the selective reliability of these examinations.

3. This method of selection has helped in the face of a good many unfavorable limitations to build more able and more competent court personnel. The quantity and quality of such service to dependent, neglected, and delinquent children directly concern the welfare of these children and of the community.

4. The system has helped to bring a sounder and wider acceptance of social work as a profession. These well-chosen probation officers, whose selection is vested in a citizen group that has the confidence of the public, occupy strategic social-work positions in that community. Their professional efforts with delinquent and dependent children are more and more recognized as essential welfare services. These officers are looked upon with favor by the community as representative social workers.

The development of a merit system for the selection of personnel in the Cook County Administration of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission shows many interesting features. This constitutes the second experiment to which attention should be directed.

Rapid expansion of the relief services of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which public social agency had been established by statute in 1926 and which became the chief agent in Chicago for the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1932, made many new staff appointments immediately necessary. Since new members of this staff were paid by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, they were not at all under the jurisdiction of the Cook County Commissioners or its Civil Service Commission. The increasing pressure upon the director of the County Bureau of Public Welfare to appoint poorly qualified persons to these positions indicated that some protective device in selection must be instituted if public funds were to be as efficiently and economically administered as those of private agencies or as those of the Public Bureau prior to its rapid extension.⁵

The Advisory Board of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which is an active and representative group of citizens with lay and professional members, appointed, therefore, a committee on personnel to deal with this urgent situation. This committee was instructed by the Advisory Board to determine standards for all appointments to the service. It was to develop plans for continuous selection of all staff on a competitive, merit basis. Minimum standards for each kind of position that were based on essential qualifying training and experience were carefully established. The plan was approved by those responsible for administering relief in Cook County. A special examining committee that was made up of well-qualified persons was appointed to examine fitness of candidates for all positions. Un-

⁵ *Social Service Review*, VII, No. 3 (September, 1933), 499: "Report of the Committee on Developing and Protecting Professional Standards in Public Welfare Work." (This report offers a full statement concerning development of personnel practices in the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.)

assembled examinations with objective and standardized grading for education and experience, as indicated on formal and certified applications, with a subsequent oral interview to determine the general personality qualifications of each applicant, were uniformly instituted.

From May 15, 1932, to June 7, 1935, this sub-committee on selection of personnel was responsible for developing and administering policies and methods of selection of candidates for all social service positions involved in the administration of public relief in Cook County and for actual staff selections. This committee was also responsible for certification of clerical personnel in Cook County until March 27, 1934, at which time a personnel bureau of the commission itself became wholly responsible for certification of clerical candidates. Suitable executive and clerical assistance was furnished the selection committee by the State Relief Commission throughout its activity. This allowed orderly and prompt administration of the rapidly growing service for selection.

A progress report of the director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare that was made October 25, 1933, concerning this and other matters related to his department,⁶ states:

Since approximately June 1, 1932, to date, all appointments of clerical and case aide workers have been made from the certified lists, and since November 1, 1932, case workers have also been subject to certification by the Sub-Committee on Selection of Personnel.

More than 17,000 persons who wished to file applications for positions in the Bureau have been interviewed at the Personnel Office in the past 16 months. Applications have been accepted for all positions until satisfactory eligible lists could be established. . . . More than 9,000 applications for positions have been accepted by the Personnel Office. Of this number of applicants, 5,232 passed preliminary tests and were called for oral examination. Eligible lists established carried the names of 4,989 qualified persons. Of this number, 2,743 persons have been appointed to the Service.

This statement of the director was made when the subcommittee on selection of personnel was about halfway through its period of service for the Relief Commission. It represents, how-

⁶ *Personnel Administration of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Leo M. Lyons, Executive* (April 17, 1936), Appendix No. 4, p. 8.

ever, the peak of the committee's contribution. It was the first half of its activity that shows the most rapid and important development of this new staff. In June, 1935, the executive secretary of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission decided that thereafter certification was to be the responsibility of an officially constituted personnel department. Such administrative division had by then been set up in the Relief Commission. It was well personneled and it was carefully planned. It had protection and support against internal interference and outside pressure.

The report⁷ from the commission's office regarding the services of the voluntary subcommittee on selection of personnel, which was thus replaced by a regular bureau, reads as follows:

This Committee undertook their responsibility with the zeal of individuals devoted to the cause of promoting public welfare, eagerly consulting sources of knowledge and experience in the most approved methods of selection of personnel in industry, business and professional groups. Corporations, business and industrial concerns, social agencies, universities, and many other employers released some of the most competent members of staff to assist in the work of planning personnel requirements and administering tests of qualification. Over a period of years, the monetary value alone of the time contributed by these groups represents an investment in public welfare that has probably never before been made. The incorruptibility of the members of the Committee in the face of pressure, criticism and sheer fatigue remains a guarantee of the merit principle in public service.

Review of the accomplishments of this particular committee shows some permanent values. These indicate usefulness of this method of selection and may suggest some desirable adaptability if the plan is to be tried again, here or elsewhere in the face of any such emergent situation.

1. This plan of careful selection made possible rapid expansion of staff and safeguarded the quality of all personnel in this rapidly growing organization.
2. The plan allowed constructive and upward modification of requirements of education and training which brought constantly better-qualified persons into the service.
3. Standards of selection and classification were set up which allowed fair and uniform salary schedules to be established.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

4. The subcommittee on selection of personnel, after demonstrating an effective method of operation and establishing suitable standards, yielded its authority to a competent and official department which it had helped to organize. This new Personnel Bureau understood and agreed with the philosophy and practices of the voluntary committee.

The third experiment in selection of qualified personnel on the basis of merit relates to social work in the Municipal Court of Chicago. In November, 1904, the voters of that community approved a constitutional amendment which permitted the creation by statute of a municipal court for Chicago. The Illinois Crime Survey of 1929⁸ which made a thorough study of this court system reports among other matters the following:

On paper the Municipal Court of Chicago is one of the most interesting and important creations of jurisprudence in America. Its influence upon the development of judicial institutions in this country has been incalculable. The administration of the court by the present chief justice has been in the main a remarkable achievement. The personnel of the court in its first years was good. In those days the court was full of men of promise and of no inconsiderable ability. The years have taken a heavy toll, however. The quality of personnel has steadily declined. The majority of the judges now sitting are fitted neither by experience, education, nor, what is more important, sufficient professional standards to discharge with credit the great responsibilities and powers which they possess under the law. The court is full of incompetence, of political influences, of lamentable laxness in meeting an unprecedented tide of crime. In the hands of such a staff the court, technically well organized and full of possibilities for good, yields a sorry product. It is a clear demonstration of the fact that no matter what may be the theoretical advantages of the structure of the court, a personnel so lacking in quality will operate it badly.

Specialized branches of this court—the Small Claims Court, the Court of Domestic Relations, the Boys' Court, and the Woman's Court—have long been in operation as made possible by the provisions of this statute. The social-work aspects of these courts have great importance. Their limited usefulness has been a matter of considerable discouragement. At first social workers were supplied by private agencies, as had been done earlier for the Juvenile Court of Cook County. At a later time responsibility for these essential social services was carried

⁸ "The Municipal Court of Chicago," p. 393.

by deputy clerks who were assigned to these offices by the chief clerk of the Municipal Court, an elected official. These appointees were generally without qualifications except strong political connections.

In the municipal election of 1931, among opposing candidates for clerk of the Municipal Court was one who was reported to have a good record, special ability, and a fine public spirit. Social workers approached him for a pre-election statement regarding the safeguarding of social work in these special departments. They requested that, if elected, he appoint qualified deputy clerks to these social-work positions. They suggested to him a basis of merit selection. It was similar to the voluntary Citizens' Examining Committee that the judge of the Juvenile Court had been using over a long period. The candidate agreed to their proposal. He was supported by the social-work group to the best of their ability. He was elected, and selection of personnel on this favorable basis was at once established by him in the special branches of the Municipal Court.

Three examinations have been held—in February of 1932, February of 1934, and April, 1935. The method of examination, like the practice in the Juvenile Court, has three parts: a written examination, an evaluation of the applicant's education and experience, and an oral interview. These scores have weighted values that are determined by committee action. Lists of eligible persons are compiled from which the chief clerk makes his selections. It is interesting to note that the membership of this examining committee has remained almost unchanged from the first appointments of the clerk of the Municipal Court. This continued service has invited constructive continuity and better understanding of the demands upon them. It has encouraged wider acceptance of this plan of selection by the community which the committee is serving.

This particular project shows some interesting aspects that merit special comment.

1. Requirements for admission to candidacy were higher in the last examination for this department than ever before ex-

perienced in public social service of the Chicago area. It was out-and-out recognition of the essentialness of professional qualifications for status in social work.

2. Candidates were selected from the last eligible list that was prepared for the clerk of the Municipal Court for placement in another public department—the office of the state's attorney. This official had agreed, also on the basis of a later pre-election promise, to place on his staff two social workers to be selected on a merit basis. Rather than calling another examination, he concurred with the opinion of a citizens' committee that the excellence of this other existing list recommended its use by his department as well. Such joint use of these eligible lists of professional workers seems practical. Further development of the idea may have far-reaching influence in more public social services.

3. This Citizens' Examining Committee that was set up for the single purpose of preparing an eligible list has extended its scope upon request of those responsible for social service in the Municipal Court. During the whole period of its activity it has had an important advisory relationship to this staff. The usefulness of such citizen advisory groups in public service is unquestioned.

The value of these three Chicago experiments in personnel selection has been great. Even casual survey of the staff membership of these agencies today shows the beneficial influence of such merit plans. The unfavorable position of three other public social services in Chicago—that of truant officers in the public schools, of policewomen, and of adult probation officers in the criminal courts—offers interesting contrast. Despite genuine need for professionally qualified workers in these departments and despite generous appropriations for personnel that are being made, no advance is to be seen in these public services.

The Municipal Civil Service Commission chooses the first and second groups but on an unsatisfactory selection basis. To walk, to read, and to write are still the only requirements for admission to these examinations. Professional status of social

work is given no recognition. Adult probation officers are selected with even less formality. They are named by their political patrons. At a recent date, upon invitation of the three chief justices of the courts concerned, a Citizens' Examining Committee gave a well-conducted, competitive examination for probation officers to fill many important vacancies. Although entrance requirements were kept low at the judges' insistence, the list of persons who qualified seemed creditable. In a meeting of all the judges, before the committee's report was presented for their approval, every vacancy that had existed was filled by a political nomination. The action was made final by a majority vote of Municipal, Circuit, and Criminal Court judges. This voluntary committee feels pleased, however, that even this degree of progress toward merit selection was made in such an unpromising situation. It is interesting to note that federal judges in the Northern Illinois District who had changes and extensions to plan for on their own probation staff consulted this excellent list and from it made, voluntarily, non-political appointments. Even this slow but certain acceptance of selection on basis of merit offers considerable encouragement.

It is not to be inferred from these Chicago experiences that voluntary merit selection affords as satisfactory or a more satisfactory method of selection than does civil service. These attempts are chiefly efforts of an auxiliary nature. The success of their use, however, suggests certain ways that usual civil service practices, as they relate to professional personnel, might be constructively altered and safeguarded. The following are set forth as some practical possibilities:

1. Official recognition of social work, as one of the professions, allows the establishment of minimum standards of education and training as prerequisites for admission to such examinations.
2. Adequate job specifications tend to limit eligibility to qualified persons.
3. Unassembled examinations prove reliable and economical because of the two factors above. Carefully weighted scores of training and experience, the oral interview, and the checking of credentials and references offer satisfactory differential ratings.

4. Use of skilful and adequate professional and clerical assistance, with pay or on a voluntary basis, seems essential if examinations are promptly and properly given.
5. A Citizens' Advisory Committee in a public agency helps to safeguard standards. It protects situations that make a weak and unsatisfactory department. Its activity may do much to influence favorably personnel matters.
6. Where there are no provisions for civil service, continued use of the voluntary selection system on a basis of merit seems imperative. It is not only a responsibility but an opportunity of social agencies, of social workers, and of interested citizens to assist generously in such service.

The importance of careful and continued attention to selection and protection of public personnel is more and more apparent. The way that has been tried in these three public services of Chicago suggests at least one useful kind of effort in the right direction.

LESSONS LEARNED IN PERSONNEL SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT IN EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

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LOOKING back over the last five years of personnel work in emergency relief administration, I find it somewhat difficult to separate those incidents that were only broadening and deepening to me personally from those more fundamental experiences that might be called "lessons learned," and be of general interest. However, there are three points that come up repeatedly in discussions on personnel policies: (1) the need for flexibility in personnel requirements; (2) the importance of a community understanding of qualifications and participation in the selection of local staffs; and (3) the problem of group recognition for those workers who, because of previous education and experience, cannot be identified with the professional field of social work.

I have selected these points for discussion because the recent development of public participation in welfare work with the establishment of new public agencies has diverted the interests of many of us from the protected field of private agencies into a field that does not even afford the freedom in setting requirements and selecting staff provided by the F.E.R.A. Flexibility in personnel requirements demands the establishment of qualifications that set the desired standard of work and, at the same time, include the persons available for employment. How successfully this was accomplished by the various S.E.R.A.'s was revealed in an analysis of staffs and standards recently completed by the research division of F.E.R.A.

Personnel qualifications, for one or more positions in the local social service units, were submitted by thirty-five state administrations. These were analyzed by functions rather than by positions, since variations in organization schemes, the size of staffs, and in the responsibilities involved made a comparison by position impractical. The functions that were common to all were those of visiting families, supervising the visiting staff, and directing the activities of the agency.

Detailed analysis of qualifications, based on skills acquired through training and experience and the degree of supervision required in visiting, made possible the comparison of four classes of personnel—senior case worker, junior case worker, visitor, and beginning worker. Of the thirty-five positions analyzed under beginning worker, twenty-nine required a college degree in the maximum requirements, and nine in the minimum requirements. Experience either was not mentioned or was covered by the phrase “experience in related field,” or “experience in some work with people.”

Visitors were a promotional group made up of persons who had had from three to six months of experience as beginning workers. All nineteen states reporting senior case-worker positions, and all but two of the twenty-one reporting junior case-worker positions, required professional education in the maximum requirements, the general period being two quarters of graduate work at an accredited school of social work. Qualifications for two senior case-worker and for fifteen junior case-worker positions did not require experience.

Twenty-one of the twenty-nine states reporting qualifications included under supervising stated the requirements in terms of definite periods of attendance at accredited schools of social work, and a given number of years of experience. The amount of professional education in the maximum requirements occurring most frequently was certification, while three years of supervised experience occurred most frequently as the experience requirement. A greater length of experience was accepted in

lieu of professional education for all positions of supervisor and senior and junior case worker.

Of the fourteen qualifications analyzed under the function of directing, seven desired a college degree plus professional training at an accredited school of social work in the maximum requirements, while only one state required these in the minimum qualifications. Six desired experience with a recognized social agency, and eight did not state desired experience. Only three gave the requirements in any definite periods of school attendance or length of experience.

The maximum qualifications for directors, supervisors, and case workers were based in general on those of the professional field of social work. The alternatives stated were usually those given in the requirements for membership to the A.A.S.W. Provision was made in practically all S.E.R.A.'s for approval by the state office of workers not meeting these qualifications.

Practically all the S.E.R.A.'s found it difficult to apply the standards. The reasons generally given were: (a) the scarcity of professionally trained personnel; (b) low educational levels in communities so that college people were not available for the positions of visitors; (c) the general opinion that persons in need should fill administrative positions; (d) state residence requirements; (e) reluctance of local communities to accept non-resident workers; and (f) political pressure. Therefore, while the requirements set the standard of work desired, they did not include the persons available for employment.

This does not mean that no effort was made to meet the situation practically. The qualifications determined by the various S.E.R.A.'s included requirements, in many instances, that were drawn to meet a special situation existing in the state. Several, with considerable local pressure for appointments, emphasized that the workers "should not be related to any county officials," and three gave as a qualification for local director that the applicant must be an out-of-county person. One state, in which there were few, if any, social workers but where there was great pressure to consider age as a primary qualification, made the

requirement for supervisor a college degree or its equivalent, or graduation from high school with two years of social-work experience—in this way closing out the older persons who were unsuited for the position.

In general, the adjustments in the written qualifications seemed to be made to meet the particular community pressures that might interfere with the selection of staff, but did not go beyond this to cover the staff available for employment. Adjustments were made in the actual employment of staff, but there was not time to rewrite the qualifications.

Of the other states, three did not answer the request, three sent application forms but no qualifications, and seven wrote that they had not been able to draft satisfactory requirements. The following is illustrative of the reasons given in these letters:

About a year ago we attempted to set up minimum qualifications for the social service division staff. After doing so, we applied them to the personnel records which we had, and found that if we made the qualifications binding we would have to release about three-fourths of the social service personnel throughout the state. We thought, for a time, that we might make the qualifications low enough so that we could reach them, but decided if we ever released such a statement, the minimum would, in many places, become the maximum, and we would never be able to raise the standard. We feel that we are not ready to stipulate standards yet. What we are trying to do is to get one even partially qualified worker in each county in charge of social service.

This seems to me to indicate another factor that made the re-writing of qualifications difficult for us. In some inconsistent fashion we could employ the best persons available in spite of their qualifications, and feel that our standards were kept intact because these were all exceptions. But to re-write the qualifications so that they included those we accepted in practice would, to most of us, have been a lowering of personnel standards that we could not quite bear. We had a tendency not to realize that standards in themselves mean very little, and that they are valuable only if they are flexible enough to be adaptable to a variety of local conditions.

The adopting of personnel requirements that cover the de-

sired standard of work and the qualifications of personnel available for employment need not mean a lowering of the qualifications of the staff employed. In April, 1934, the Pennsylvania E.R.A. decided to add nearly two thousand visitors to the local staffs. In order to impress the public of its impartiality in the employment of workers, the S.E.R.A. decided that this group should be employed through merit examination. It was necessary to write the requirements for eligibility for this examination. The writing of the qualifications caused considerable discussion during which serious consideration was given to abandoning the plan, and doing without the much-needed staff. Standards in effect until then included college graduation as a minimum requirement for visitors, but it was obvious that, because of available personnel in the rural areas and the general local community feeling on educational requirements, such an educational qualification could not be stated publicly. The requirements finally issued made high-school graduation, plus eight additional points in education or experience in a related field, the minimum qualification. Each year of college work and each year of experience counted two points.

In June, 1934, an analysis of the education and experience qualifications of the S.E.R.A. staff was made in an effort to estimate the progress we had made during the previous fourteen months in establishing personnel standards. We were particularly interested in measuring the results of the more flexible requirements set up for the merit examination, and in comparing this staff of junior visitors with the visitors employed previously. This comparison revealed that 51 per cent of the junior visitors were college graduates, while 49 per cent of the visitors employed during the earlier period were college graduates. Eighty per cent of the new group, as contrasted with 68 per cent of the visitors, were college graduates or had had one or more years of college training.

It was apparent that the more inclusive requirements in no way decreased the quality of the staff employed. These qualifications have continued to be used, although, during the follow-

ing year, it was necessary to adjust the number of required additional points in order to secure a sufficient number of workers. Even so, an analysis of the educational preparation of the visitors in Pennsylvania in the fall of 1935 showed that 64 per cent had had four years of college work, 6 per cent having had more than four years, and that 83 per cent were either college graduates or had had one or more years of college work.

The education, experience, and personal qualities that are determined to be essential for a staff in order satisfactorily to carry out the work of an agency are designed to establish a standard of work and to give some uniformity in the ability of the workers employed. They are a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves, and should affect the actual practice of the agency in selecting staff. Personnel qualifications, if they are to serve this purpose, should be practical and usable, and should cover the persons who are available as well as set the desired standard of work for the agency.

A growing agency evolves its personnel standards and develops staff over a period of time. We are concerned, therefore, not only with the requirements established, but with the provisions that can be made to insure a continuity in emphasis on qualifications. There are practices of employment in public departments and attitudes toward public employment that have grown up in practically every state. While it is most desirable for a public agency not to follow many of these practices, it is true, nevertheless, that it cannot afford to ignore the fact that they exist, or to underestimate the force of community prejudices.

Under our form of government, in which there may be periodic changes in department heads, there can be no guaranty of a continuing administration with the same emphasis on personnel qualifications. Many professional groups have found it desirable to secure state protection of their personnel standards, and have done so by some form of registration or licensing. Such protection could not be secured for the emergency staffs, nor would it seem probable that the qualifications for public welfare

staffs are sufficiently crystallized to make this type of protection desirable at this time. Some uniformity can be gained by examinations, but unless the state has a Civil Service Commission (and not always then), there can be no assurances from one administration to another that the same standard of work, or same qualifications for staff, will be retained. But, just as the force of the attitudes and community prejudices can present such serious problems in selecting personnel, so could a change in these attitudes be a protection to the standards which the agency wishes to establish.

A community understanding the work and a conviction of the need for qualified personnel seem the best guaranty of a continuing quality of work. Personnel standards superimposed upon a community have no roots. When the outside force which established those standards is removed, they cease to exist. If such a force could hold the standards for a long-enough time, they might eventually become accepted as any new habit of thought is accepted, but I wonder if this might not lead to the appointment-policing attitude that is characteristic of some Civil Service Commissions. When qualifications are established that are attacked by public opinion and political parties, it seems almost inevitable that emphasis should come to be laid by those in charge on withstanding such attacks, rather than on a constructive, growing personnel policy.

In 1933 we set up a centralized control of personnel in Pennsylvania. Qualifications, classifications, and salaries of all persons appointed to any position were approved in the state office. We tried to handle this so that the authority was felt as little as possible and so that there would be some feeling that personnel was still a local responsibility. What had happened actually by 1934, either because our intentions did not carry over to the local executives, or because of the system, was that personnel responsibility generally was not assumed in the county. Careful explanations of policy, that an executive seemed to understand and accept, were not passed on to the staff. Decisions that could have been made locally were passed to the state office. There

was little effort to interpret the personnel requirements or policies to the community. There was a tendency to answer all criticism by the statement that "Harrisburg said so."

The centralization meant that the local group did not assume responsibility for the personnel requirements, or for the community understanding of the qualifications. They conformed to the standards set but had no experiences in working out those requirements so that they fully appreciated their importance. If personnel standards are attacked, there must be a local group to defend them who are convinced, as they can be only by experience, that those qualifications are essential.

I think nothing has surprised me more than the strength of my conviction on this point. There is a need for leadership and stimulation in working out personnel qualifications and methods of selecting staff, and for an emphasis on qualified personnel as essential for sound administration by both federal and state offices. However, for any continuity of personnel requirements, it is essential that there be a community understanding and conviction for the need of qualified personnel.

Professional recognition of the S.E.R.A. workers became an increasing personnel problem during the period of 1931 to 1935. In some cities, when local and private funds only were available, the emergency programs were administered under the direction of existing social agencies, and were identified immediately with the profession. The emergency program was sponsored as a definite part of the social-work field by the federal government in 1933 because of the emphasis placed upon the need for professionally trained workers on state staffs and in executive positions in local units. As early as 1933 the workers, themselves, first became conscious of the need for training when institutes were held in some states. State training programs increased steadily during 1934 and 1935. In 1934 the F.E.R.A. made professional training possible for several hundred workers. Some S.E.R.A.'s also made formal training available for staff workers. Local colleges and universities offered extension courses. The importance of trained personnel was repeatedly emphasized so

that it was inevitable that this large group of workers engaged in the program developed a vital interest in their relationship with the professional field.

On July 1, 1935, there were approximately sixty thousand workers in the positions of director, supervisor, and visitor in the S.E.R.A. staff. Few of them were members of, or eligible for membership in, the professional group. The majority were younger workers with little previous working experience, or persons from other professional or occupational fields. Many of these wished to remain in social work. Unfortunately, however, of all the training made available only the opportunities offered through the F.E.R.A. or the S.E.R.A. at accredited schools of social work could give the workers standing in the profession.

These persons, more widely scattered than the professional group, represented social workers to many communities. The fact that they could not qualify as professional workers seemed to a great many communities to reflect more upon the professional field than to indicate a need for further training. These workers were connected with the emergency relief programs from a period of months to two years, and in some cases longer. They had been social workers and could speak with authority on social problems in the community. Some of them are continuing to represent social workers to the local communities in positions with the public agencies.

Sound personnel administration in an agency with professional qualifications would mean the employment of persons eligible for professional membership or able to become eligible through the types of training available. This was not possible in the S.E.R.A. It seems probable that, even if the importance of those standards is recognized by public welfare agencies, it will be impossible to have persons employed in all local units who can qualify as professional workers. It seemed desirable to some of the professional group to include more of the S.E.R.A. workers if possible, and there has been serious consideration of ways and means by which this could be done.

The number of workers continuing with the public agencies

will not be as large as during the S.E.R.A., but the need for affiliation with the professional group will remain. In some respects, since the tendency seems to be for less emphasis on professional requirements in the organizations, it becomes more important to offer the workers on the staffs the opportunity for identification with a professional group. The impetus for further study must come from an outside group. It is also important for social work as a professional field that the requirements of training and experience be more generally understood.

Both of these can be accomplished best through some provision for recognition of workers in the public field. Just what form this recognition can take is the problem of the professional field. I do not think that it would be advisable to lower the professional standards, and I am convinced that it would be most unfortunate if maintenance of those standards meant that the professional group would withdraw from the public welfare field. I hope means can be found that will make it possible to sponsor an affiliated group to include the workers who will find employment in public agencies.

Those of us who are entering or continuing in the growing field of public welfare administration should be careful to consider: (1) that job standards formulated without regard for local conditions will prove detrimental, but that a successful program of recruiting and assimilating workers must be based upon flexible qualifications; (2) that a panacea for sloppy personnel practices and standards which give rise to agencies of political job-holders cannot be found in any system that establishes and maintains standards by force, but that a sound, growing, personnel policy must have its roots in public recognition and participation; and (3) that the profession cannot afford to disregard the existence of the many persons who have been identified with relief work in positions we may now wish to identify with the profession, but that some form of recognition with opportunities for advancement must be afforded them.

CO-ORDINATION OF INSTITUTION CARE OF CHILDREN WITH OTHER SERVICES IN THE COMMUNITY

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OUR early institutions in the United States were created to meet the emergent needs of children. Pioneers saw the plight of waifs orphaned by Indian massacres, by yellow fever, by the ruthlessness of war and set themselves to plan for their care. Crises in our history and a growing conviction that little children should not live in almshouses brought into being hundreds of orphanages the country over.

Having participated thus in this forward-looking movement for better care for children, many leaders drew back from the community's activities and spread their interest no further than the area circumscribed by the four walls of the institution and there remained static. In so doing they lost touch with the changing needs. The more alert, however, kept close to the stream of community life. With courage and flexibility they went on to new exploration and development.

One of the earliest orphanages established in this country was a small church institution in Baltimore, opened just before the 1800's to care for orphan and half-orphan girls. They were taught sewing and cooking and trained for domestic service. Shortly after 1900 the plan of training as domestics was abandoned for the democratic ideal of giving these dependent girls an opportunity for general education with a view to permitting them to enter fields of their special choice. In 1936 this orphanage, now a school, is successfully guiding the adjustment of difficult adolescent girls as they learn to meet life in our complex

civilization. Many stories of growth equally dramatic could be told.

If the modern institution is to be a vital part of the total child welfare program, it must participate in community planning. The community and all its services should be so well understood that the institution's own service may be developed and adapted to meet and fill the gaps in the child-care picture. The institution has certain inherent factors which make it different from placement in family homes. It necessitates group life. We hear a great deal about our cottage plans providing a sample of family life. This is not actually so—in no average family do some twelve, fifteen, twenty, thirty, or even more children live together. Instead it is a group situation and, if so considered and handled, has much to give to certain children. Group pressure and training can be a powerful force in the life of a child. Only those should be subjected to the experience, however, who can hold their own in it and gain by it.

The statement that the cottage creates group life rather than family life should not be construed to mean that cottage parents, father and mother, are not highly desirable. It is particularly important that children from broken, atypical homes, should early see husband and wife living together, in good adjustment and giving of their mutual interest to children.

Many children coming to the institutions (as to agencies), have been subjected to experiences which have shattered their faith in others and even in the world. So often children feel in the way in their homes, unwanted and unloved. They lose all incentives. If no one cares, why should they bother to behave in an acceptable fashion? Much of the delinquent behavior of children comes out of such feelings, and also of the feeling that, if behavior is bad enough, perhaps someone can be made to care. These children need someone to tie to.

Herein is the chance for the institution. On the staff some one person may be found to strike a spark in the child. He comes really to believe that somebody does care; he wants to please that person, he wants his or her approval. Because of this, his

inaccessible shell opens a crack, and from that point on all may work with him.

This type of relationship is, of course, possible in the foster home as well, but the institution has the advantage in the wide range of varying personalities on the staff. It may be the case worker, it may be the cottage mother, the group supervisor, the garage man, the gardener, the cook—it makes little difference who it is, if the child has faith in the sincerity of interest.

A nearby institution has been dealing with a certain boy off and on for years, and but little has been accomplished; yet if that boy ultimately does save himself from utter social loss, it will be because of the tie he has made to the director, one of the many persons who have touched upon his life. Unwanted from boyhood, a misfit in boarding-homes, in the institution, and in school, he has hoboed his way across the continent a couple of times. He is known to many transient bureaus, has sampled the detention home, the industrial school, and now the jail. This boy is still under seventeen, a great overgrown child. As he says—"Sure, I socked my mudder, but gee, six months for just one little sock!"

His contact with the director has always been vital. Months elapse while the boy is missing, but each time he turns up in a new jam this man sees him. When last he visited him in jail, the boy's jaw dropped in stunned surprise. He said, "Why do you still bother with me, don't you know I'm rotten?" He was later heard to say that if this man still cared he would make good yet. What other incentive has he?

In the institution the social worker and the other members of the staff may observe the child. This brings to bear points of view based on different backgrounds of experience which is always valuable. These findings, drawn together and analyzed, give a composite picture of the child as he is meeting life from day to day. This is a more intensive observation than usually may be had in a family home.

Group living necessitates rules. Careful program planning is, therefore, of major importance if the institution is to develop its

special opportunities to the utmost. We are faced with the choice between a smooth-running institution or truly individual opportunity for training of children. The institution which lives by rules is, of course, simpler to operate. Yet even in large setups, deviations of routine may be made without breakdown and license if a philosophy of adaptation and understanding has been built up among the staff and children.

Group life should give, in so far as possible, a sampling of those various experiences children should have met in their own homes and neighborhoods. They must learn by experimentation how to meet the little situations in life so that gradually they build for themselves a knowledge of what will and will not work out advantageously.

The institution should give to the child the quality of affectionate relationship which he needs. Some children have suffered from starvation on this score, others have suffered from overfeeding. Some need close personal ties, with others the great need is for affection which is impersonal, though no less sincere. As in all work with children we must also satisfy the desire for status and security. The child must feel wanted, a part of the whole, and able to cope with the life of the group.

He needs to learn self-government, not necessarily by a student-government program but through learning to plan for himself. The chance to choose a course, even though it be an unwise one, may be a valuable life-experience if he learns thereby to judge more clearly the second time. Success in life is going to depend on his ability to pick and choose from the opportunities and leadership which life sets before him in an unsheltered environment.

There is little use in a child's conforming to an accepted pattern of behavior if he has given up truanting only because he doesn't get a chance, or stealing because he can't get away with it. Nor is there much value in guarding a cardiac child from over stimulation if he never learns to assume the responsibility for choice. He should have the opportunity to learn through cause and effect what happens under certain conditions.

The lessons to be taught in regard to property values and money are many. The child should early learn to earn, spend, save, and give. Knowledge must be gained by experience of how long it takes to acquire money and how quickly it is spent; that care must be taken if clothes are to last; that property destroyed involves money for replacement.

Some institutions have put considerable thought into this phase of training and are developing good systems of work and pay jobs, direct purchasing, and so on. Others have attempted group discussion with the older children on economics and social planning. Institution costs and sources of income have been gone over with them, new expenditures discussed, and participation in planning asked of them.

The foregoing material in regard to training possibilities leads most logically to the matter of personnel. It is obvious that such a program within the institution cannot be carried out unless we have carefully chosen and trained persons living close to these children in daily life. The selection of these persons should be as skilled and exhaustive a process as that which we use in the finding of understanding foster parents. Their tasks and possibilities are alike in many ways. We cannot afford to have in these important rôles persons handicapped by physical and emotional instability. The work demands endurance of physical vigor, buoyancy, good judgment, and a broad and mellow outlook on life.

This concept in regard to institution personnel is a matter for careful interpretation. Unless members of the boards and lay persons of the community see the part these persons play in the lives of children to be cared for, it will not be possible to develop or maintain adequate staffs. On the other hand, if they do understand, they will readily lend their weight toward pushing forward to higher standards.

Who goes to the institution? This question will always produce discussion and usually disagreement. We feel sure enough of our ground at one point to be dogmatic. Babies and little children of two and three years should not be cared for in insti-

tutions, except as a most temporary measure, and then only if the quality of service equals the medical safeguards of a high-grade children's hospital. Expert opinion on the medical and psychological aspects of this question is readily available. It has been repeatedly demonstrated in practice that these little children thrive better with simple home care and mothering. Again, the institution is not generally needed for the so-called average child from four to eight years. This group is readily placeable in foster homes. Only those especially needing that which the group life has to offer should be so housed.

There appear to be four main types of service which the institution well may render:

1. Temporary care of children away from their own homes can, in some ways, be given with less emotional wear and tear in the institution than in subsidized boarding-homes. The child who is secure in the love relationships of his own home does not need the family life of the foster home. Many foster parents are demanding in their need for a demonstrative response from the child they are giving care to. He may become confused by the necessity for making new close relationships. To some parents the giving-over of their child to the care of others, even temporarily, is a blow to their self-esteem. It is often easier to do this with the impersonal institution than to see another family home absorb him. Jealousy and unconscious blocking of plans may be avoided in this way. It would be well, however, carefully to adhere to the dictionary definition of temporary—"lasting for a short time only." Social workers are usually prone to give too liberal an interpretation to the word.

2. Convalescent care as a step between the hospital régime and own or foster home is a valid service for the institution if given in small units and to those children who need the special advantages of group life. Here, too, there must be individualization. Thought has been given to what medicine, surgery, and hygiene can do for the convalescing or handicapped child. Unless he is given cultural and vocational training, to the limit of his capacities, the purpose of helping him to a good social ad-

justment has not been fulfilled. The field of convalescent care is one that we must watch. The exploration that is going on of the use of family homes for care may bring to light some findings which will cause modification of our institution plans.

3. Study homes for diagnosis and for treatment following upon such study are needed. The more conscious we become of the emotional hazards involved in manipulating the lives of children, the more we feel the need of skilled observation and guidance. The chance to pool medical, psychiatric, psychological, and social findings with the vital material which comes out of the day-to-day living makes it possible to consider the whole child. The type of group observation discussed earlier and the fact that it is possible over the twenty-four hours give invaluable insight for working out further plans.

4. Specialized services in small institution groups are coming into being as the outgrowth of acutely felt needs. The wide swing away from institution care carried us with enthusiasm to the use of family homes for all purposes. Honest evaluation has shown us weaknesses. Certain children can undoubtedly be handled more readily in the institution group. All child-placing workers know the difficult adolescent who cannot take root in a foster home—untidy, insolent, resenting adult control, exploding from any spark, they move from home to home, each move making the ultimate adjustment more difficult. Few families are elastic enough to absorb this child, even own homes become stretched to the breaking-point.

The stabilization of a general routine is a help at this period of rapid physical and emotional development. The group control is less personal, certain regulations can be conformed to for the good of all which would seem intolerable if exerted over each one singly. The child is trying, as a normal phase of growth, to throw off adult domination and to stand alone as a person. It is difficult to find the foster home that will not at once reproduce this situation of conflict for him.

Much the same needs are present in some children a little younger, the pre-adolescents who are showing delinquent trends

and the beginnings of asocial behavior. A considerable period of residence in the institution is needed here to establish new attitudes and new goals which will carry over when the child returns to life in the community. The institutions are coming to realize that, if these needs of the adolescent and pre-adolescent are adequately to be met, programs will have to be rich and well rounded. More effort will have to be put upon prevocational samplings, vocational training, self-guidance, self-expression, and participation in community life.

The foregoing material was planned to develop a concept of the modern institution as it is of use today—the institution which may be looked upon as one of the valuable tools of case work, necessary in the community if we are to have a comprehensive program for child care. There are two functions of case work which must be available for the child: one is carried on beyond the walls and deals with his relationship to his family and the environment from which he comes; the other relates to the child in his daily living within the institution.

The first function, social planning for the child both before and after admission, must be carried on consistently in order to meet his changing needs. There is little use in giving care to the individual child if we neglect the home and community, from which his difficulties spring and to which he often must return.

If the institution can have a case worker on the staff, this is easily carried out. If not, a plan should be made with a co-operating agency for such service. Usually this should be considered a demonstration to be taken over later by the institution. Unless the case-work service becomes an integral part of the program, it does not permeate the thinking of staff and board members. This makes it difficult to keep abreast of changing needs as they emerge.

The second case-work function is that which lies in the daily person-to-person contacts in the institution. These give opportunities to the house staff for guidance of the developing personality, the importance of which, if wisely handled, cannot be overestimated.

Mutual understanding between the house staff and the social worker of the importance of each other's rôle is essential. The group supervisors or cottage parents have knowledge of these children which is of equal value to that gleaned by the social worker. It should be recorded as part of the child's record and should be available to all workers involved with plans for the child. This recording must not be left to chance conference. A plan should be devised for reporting at regular intervals. This should be in the form of objective descriptions of the way the child has behaved in certain situations rather than through the use of check charts or "good" and "bad" conduct reports.

The social worker is the only one of the many who touch upon the child who is in a position to carry the thread of continuity through the various placements which may be necessary. She should capitalize on this whenever possible and remain in the picture from first to last, interpreting the moves to the child as they arise. Through this relationship with her, the child is enabled to carry to each new situation at least one person with whom he is familiar and at ease.

Some institutions now operate in conjunction with departments of boarding-home care under one administration. Of the institutions and agencies now in the membership of the Child Welfare League of America there are about thirty-four with such joint programs. This type of setup should facilitate smooth transfer from the use of one tool to another when indicated.

If at the present time the institution cannot have a social worker on the staff and a demonstration such as we have discussed is not possible, then the doors should be opened to social workers of other community agencies. Those who are planning the case work with the family while the child is out of the home should have the benefit of the institution's knowledge regarding the child. Visits to the institution should be welcomed, records available, and joint staff conferences should be held. When placement out of the institution is to be made, it should be through the combined planning of the institution staff and the social worker—each contributing from special knowledge to the

understanding of the child's needs. Slow steps may have to be taken in preparing the child to see the necessity and value of the new move.

It is indeed fortunate when the children's institution has the opportunity to work in close co-operation with a child guidance clinic service. The staff gains much by this, not only for the benefit of some particular children but in a fundamental knowledge of child behavior and the sources from which it springs. The psychiatric staff of the clinic also learns from the actual experience of those living the daily life with the children in the institution.

The sound development of psychiatric understanding that is coming rather slowly, but steadily, to children's work has developed largely from this contact with clinic groups in different areas. The children's institutions and agencies have been the proving ground of much psychiatric practice with children. The opportunity of the well-equipped institution in this field of clinic co-operation is still largely unexplored. Interesting material should come from further working together.

Family-society workers and medical social workers, through closer contact with the institution caring for a child, may learn much which will be of value in dealing with other members of the family. Unless there is a close working-together, the child often falls between areas of service. This was clearly indicated in a record read in a western city. A child of eight with a rheumatic heart condition was referred by the medical social worker of the hospital to the convalescent home. Care which was highly specialized was given and lasted over a year and a half. The father, a widower with several other children, was struggling against odds to hold his home together. The family society was called on and gave constructive supervision; standards of home life improved. Within the period the father remarried. The new wife, a kindly but rather confused woman, came to the home bringing her three children to be added to the father's four already in the home.

At this point the little girl in the convalescent home was dis-

charged to her family in excellent physical condition. She had apparently been forgotten on all sides. There had been little visiting on the father's part, she had never seen the new step-mother, beds were filled, interests had gone on without her, she had no place in her home. The natural result was a rapid return to ill health and all the concern and solicitude it entailed. This time, however, the cause was not a rheumatic heart, but the inability to make a place for herself in any other way.

The convalescent home should have realized that this child was being cut off from home ties and that this would make her return difficult. It should have called upon the other interested workers for help if unable to meet the child's needs. On the other hand, if the hospital's social worker had foreseen this difficulty and remained in contact with the family, or if the family-society's worker had been aware of how this child was being "lost" from her family group, all the emotional wear and tear might have been spared and the financial waste of medical care avoided. The passing-on of bits of knowledge of daily life between home and child would have kept alive the tie. Visits on the father's part could have been stimulated and planned, and the home prepared for the return of this child. A greater awareness on the part of all workers of the delicacy of the threads of family life would have allowed for re-weaving long before the rent became serious.

With a clear understanding by the juvenile court of the plan and program of the institution good preventive work may be done. Many times court action can be held in abeyance while the child is given a chance in a new setting, surrounded not only by a different physical environment but by an intangible one as well—new persons to believe in and respond to, new attitudes and ideals of life. Here hand-in-hand case work is needed. The court should play the part indicated by study of the special child—at one time exerting authority and remaining in the picture, like the sword of Damocles; again, so far as the child's awareness is concerned, almost non-existent, giving no indication of discipline or authority. Such interplay can come only from mutual understanding of objectives by the personnel of

court and institution and the various techniques for attaining them.

Though the school and church are not case-working agencies in the same sense as those mentioned previously, we should as carefully consider co-operation with them if we are to bring all forces to bear upon the child we hope to serve. As one visits institutions in various places, a wide divergence is found in the status of children who attend public school from that of those in the institution. In some schools the children are tolerated only because a certain school superintendent assigns them to that area. They are expected to be difficult or problems and a detriment to good attendance records because of short residence and occasional institution quarantines. They find themselves the children "from the Home." Again, we find an institution sending to the school so clear a picture of the child's status and needs, based on good study, that his placement is readily made and the school comes to lean heavily upon this co-operative service. Another institution feeds into the community's schools children who are readily assimilated, who become leaders in group activities. This institution has a record of giving the high school a football star repeatedly over a period of years. Another institution has school held on the grounds by the city board of education which children of the neighborhood attend as well. This has brought about a close bond of understanding between school and institution staff workers which is most helpful to all.

Able teachers individualize their children as do case workers. Our need is for better understanding of the teacher's particular problems and clearer interpretation to them of the institution's goals and difficulties. This demands much in time and thought on the part of both groups.

In our case work with children we are likely to give too little thought to spiritual growth and development through religious training. We go through motions of making church connections for them and carrying out a routine of religious practices. So often we do not seem able to create a personal relationship for them. This field needs more working-out-together by church

and institution. We must find ways for the church to become a part of their life and interest. We must lose them as the "orphans" seated conspicuously, the object of momentary sympathy, and find them again participating in all services and activities but integrated in the group as individuals. Only in this way can they come to find the church vital in their lives.

Children's institutions must actually open their doors to the public. Mental hospitals in Massachusetts and other states are combating lay terror of mental disease by having large community meetings on preventive aspects of mental hygiene held frequently at the large state hospitals so that the public may be brought into a new association with them.

Similar education may be undertaken by children's institutions. If the lay public is to lose its feeling of these children being a mass known as "orphans" or the "Home children," they must come to see their daily life—and participate in it. Thus they may learn that each one is a child facing the problems of growing up, perhaps getting off with a worse start but certainly with problems no different from those any child in the community may be called on to face. Some institutions are aware of this need and are meeting it well.

Institutions are a part of our community planning. In 1933, 242,000 children were in care away from their own homes in the United States. Of these, 140,000 were housed in institutions. The number cared for in institutions will probably decrease somewhat as boarding-home programs are developed in more areas. Some institutions will go out of existence, their purpose having been fulfilled; others will remain and, being close to the steam of community life, will find the special service which they may render.

With the wide swing of interest to the use of family homes for the placement of children, the true values for certain children in the well-planned institution were forgotten by many workers. By this disregard one group appeared to set itself up as superior, to feel that it had the only accepted tool (home placement) in its hands; this, of course, assailed the self-esteem of those concerned with institutions. Could it be that they were entirely

wrong? The first natural response was a defensive drawing-back—an attitude, perhaps not admitted to themselves even, of “Maybe I am wrong, but no one is going to get close enough to see.” After this first reaction those institutions courageous enough to evaluate themselves have found that there was ground under their feet, that there is a place for institutions and a unique service to be rendered. They no longer feel inferior and fearful of scrutiny.

This tendency to clutch at new methods and accept them as the “light” is still present. It must be guarded against if feelings of rivalry and jealousy on the part of those within and without the “fold” are not to stand in the way of wise social planning. The avidity with which some have grasped the new techniques and expected thereby a solution of all problems has been open to ridicule. “Attitude therapy,” “relationship therapy,” “direct therapy with the child,” “dynamic passivity”—all these waves have washed high and left each time residue, which if incorporated into our tool kit will be of invaluable service. We must, however, develop skills as to where and in what combinations to use them.

If we are to have community backing for our highly skilled therapeutic service, it will be only because we have used it with appropriate discrimination and learned to interpret it to the public as a method essential in certain cases, expensive to be sure in original outlay, but economical when long-time results are considered. We must show that we can be trusted to scan our case loads and give only the kinds of service needed. We must not use the surgeon to draw out the superficial splinter.

There is a challenge for all of us in social work whether in children's institutions, child-placing agencies, or other agencies of the community. Now is the time to lay aside all feelings of superiority, all drive for power and prestige for the individual or the organization. We must sharpen our tools, develop our skills, and seek the best ways of co-ordinating our many resources into a close-fitting but complete community program for child welfare.

HEALTH AND THE NEW HOUSING

May Lumsden, New York City Housing Authority

THE job that Sisyphus had in Hades provided him with steady employment, but even after an eternity of industrious work he had very little to show by way of results. You'll remember that he was the fellow who spent his time pushing a stone to the top of a hill—and that the stone invariably fell down to the bottom again after each ascent.

Many a social worker feels sometimes, I know, about the way Sisyphus must have felt after the first millenium or so. Learned bodies like the League of Nations' Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People have testified to the usefulness of our work. They say, for example:

There is special value in the use of nursery schools or of recreation centres or of reading rooms in enabling children and young people to spend part of their day away from a home where the atmosphere is depressed. . . . Provision of such facilities may relieve tension in such homes.

But we ourselves know that the return to the depressed atmosphere and the sordid surroundings of what is called "home" in congested urban areas undoes our work quite as effectively as the gods undid that of Sisyphus. I don't believe, though, that it's the gods who have turned against us. In the works of man we'll find the cause, and let us call it "bad housing." What I mean by bad housing is familiar to all of you. But just in case the purity of the Atlantic City breezes has removed the tenement stench from your nostrils, let me remind you of the toilets in halls or yards used by all the families in the house and by any tramp who may wander in from the street; of damp stairways, dark except perhaps for the glowing eyes of a cat with a rat in its mouth; and of rooms redolent of the miasma of generations of overcrowded living.

The only way we can get permanent results in our efforts to help the people living in these cast-off dwellings is, not to provide them with escapes from home, but to give them homes they won't have to escape from. And the only economically feasible way of doing this is by public housing. I don't need to tell people of your experience about the intangible benefits—the sense of well-being and pride in the home that accrues from decent housing. But there is one very tangible benefit that comes as certainly as the dawn used to in the old-fashioned movie—and that is, better health.

TABLE I
COMPARATIVE AVERAGE HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN,
AGED TEN, IN SELECTED DISTRICTS IN
MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

DISTRICT	HEIGHT (IN.)		WEIGHT (LB.)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Northern estate, housing established for ten years.....	52.70	53.43	64.57	68.03
Wythenshawe, newly established housing development.....	50.64	50.50	62.33	59.52
Congested city area.....	49.95	49.74	59.73	58.60

Perhaps the most striking demonstration of how closely health and housing are related is Dr. Herd's study of the school children in Manchester, England.¹ He compared the heights and weights of three groups of children over an eighteen-month period, and found that, age for age, the children living in a newly established development gained in height and weight more than the children in the congested city area, and that the children in a second housing development established ten years previously showed a definite improvement over those in both the other districts.

Some people contend that the same results could be obtained more cheaply by the improvement of ramshackle houses than by reconstruction. The city of Liverpool, England, tried both

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, November 22, 1935.

and found that, although the health of the improved area did show some improvement over that of the surrounding area, the mortality rates of the reconstructed district showed a much closer approximation to the general city rate.² In a word, you get just what you pay for, and no more.

Moreover, piecemeal improvements such as the installation of sanitary plumbing and central heating (which also, by the way, usually raise the rents beyond what the occupants can afford) leave untouched the most serious health hazard of the blighted areas—overcrowding. For the greater the proximity of man to man, the greater the mortality. The United States Children's Bureau (*Report of 1925*, by Robert Morse Woodbury) found, after studying 23,000 records of births in eight cities, that

the infant death rate in families which lived in homes with two or more persons per room was one and a half times that of families which lived in homes with less than one person per room. The variations in mortality from gastric, intestinal and respiratory diseases were especially marked.

There is also the broader problem of overcrowding—the proximity of man to man not only within the apartment but without; the lack of open spaces; the high land coverage leaving no place for the children to play; no cracks for the sun to shine through. The federal government expects to remedy this situation by planning housing developments with very low land coverage. The management is expected to provide further protection against overcrowding by assigning the apartments to tenants in accordance with the size of their families, the density not to exceed one person per room. It is obvious that, in order to maintain such standards, the rent scale will have to be fixed, as in some European countries, so that the larger families will pay less per room than the smaller ones.

Low-rent government housing in the United States has produced no valuable health data for the simple reason that, until five months ago, there wasn't any low-rent government housing

² A. A. Mussen, *Report on the Health of the City of Liverpool during the Year 1930* (C. Tinling & Co., 1931).

in this country. It takes years to accumulate health data, but let us look for a moment at First Houses, the first municipal housing development in the United States, and let us study the record in the making.

In the heart of New York's Lower East Side, on the site of twenty-five ramshackle tenements that were built before the Civil War and had been boarded up for years because of unfitness for human habitation, now stand eight modern apartments of old red brick, four and five stories high. Wrought-iron pier lights, bright green shrubbery, grass, and trees provide the only ornamentation. The buildings have central heating. Each apartment has plenty of sunlight and good ventilation—all of the rooms (except the kitchen) have two windows, and some of the bedrooms have three. There is no such thing as a court. The so-called "rear" apartments face on the garden and have southern exposure. Modern sanitary plumbing—for which America is famous, but which is so conspicuously absent in the houses from which our tenants came—makes possible clean and healthful living at an average rental of \$6 a room a month.

The management has tried to make this possibility a reality by augmenting the physically high standards of the buildings with high service standards. Provision is made for the fumigation of incoming tenants' furniture to insure the extermination of any unpleasant souvenirs of the old-law tenements from which the tenants came. The building-service personnel will be required to maintain not only high work standards but also good health standards. Even janitors will be required to submit to periodic health examinations.

Equally rigid standards are being kept up in the maintenance of the public rooms and halls—a much more important health measure than one might at first think. Any insurance man will tell you that more accidents happen in and about the home than anywhere else (excepting recognizedly hazardous occupations); and no less than 23 per cent of these home accidents occur in hallways and on stairs. There is no data available on the relationship between these accidents and the condition of the dwell-

ing; but the dark, littered halls and dilapidated stairways of the average tenement are hazards so obvious as to need no comment.

Indirectly, too, good housekeeping in the public rooms and halls gives the tenants an incentive and a standard for their own housekeeping; although, as a matter of fact, in First Houses our tenants are setting the standards for us. I have never seen a group of apartments so uniformly well kept, or in which the tenants took such pride. Disease germs would find these rooms most uncomfortable and inhospitable.

Incinerators on every floor make the storing of garbage, to be thrown from the window during the night hours, unnecessary and inconvenient. When you have to walk down and up several flights of stairs to dispose of your garbage, the preference for throwing it out of the window is understandable. But remove the cause and you remove the action—thereby saving the city money not only by decreasing the health hazards of the neighborhood, but also by cutting the cost of street cleaning.

We have found, in our five months of operation of First Houses, not only a remarkable increase in the weight and height of the children; improvement in the health of the children formerly suffering from bronchitis, nervousness, and anemia; but a change in the whole attitude and disposition of the tenants. Most of the tenants look on their apartments as their homes. To me, who have lived all my life in New York apartments, this is a new concept for an urban dweller. It is what we had hoped might happen as the idea of government housing developed. This feeling of the importance of the home exists despite the absence of privately owned land with which it is usually associated.

And the home has come to mean more than just a place in which to eat and sleep. Space is available for leisure-time activities, and through the combined efforts of the tenants' organization, the management, and private and public social agencies recreational and educational programs for all age groups are available in First Houses. The development is small and, as such, must not be unto itself but should, rather, become part of

the community. The public school opposite the development is setting a precedent in community co-operation.

The settlement houses in the district, which is particularly well serviced, not only have shown great interest in the development, but have co-operated wholeheartedly in offering their facilities to the tenants. For the settlement workers realize that here at last is a group of people who have a chance to carry home and practice, twenty-four hours a day, the recipes for better living that they learn at the settlements. Here is a group of people from whom social workers can get permanent and steadily better results—the prospect of a lasting victory to vary the unending struggle merely to keep conditions from getting worse.

Particularly effective is the work of our own preschool group, not only in affording the very best care for the younger children, but—even more important—in bringing to the mothers themselves new and modern ideas of child care. The New York City Health Department is renting two of the stores in First Houses as a baby health station. The station will, of course, serve the whole neighborhood, but its location in the development, bringing vital health education so close to the families, will undoubtedly raise the health standards of our tenants.

At the present time there is virtually no provision made for medical care for families such as those in First Houses, who have been able to keep off the relief rolls, yet whose income is too low for them to afford even the most moderate-priced medical attention. Though some members of the medical profession seem to think that families with incomes of \$15 to \$25 per week are capable of paying for medical care, the fact is, of course—in New York City, anyway—that it takes pretty smart management to squeeze adequate food, clothing, and shelter from such an income, with nothing to spare for emergencies.

Now that so many of these families are being gathered together in government housing developments, under management staffs whose interest in them is not confined to collecting the rent, perhaps some co-operative plan for medical care can

be worked out. Some excellent co-operative arrangements are already functioning; but they cost too much to be of help to the lowest-income groups. Whatever plan is finally worked out for this class will have to be low enough in cost to match their incomes. At present the management staff is equipped to refer tenants to proper agencies for necessary hospitalization and convalescent care. We have had only one hospital case so far, and that was the result of an accident in a moving-picture theater. Mental and emotional adjustment problems that might have been detrimental to the children's personal development if they had been left in an environment where they would have been neglected are being adjusted through the co-operation of the parents and the recreation workers.

What effect does First Houses have, you may ask, on the health standards of the community at large—of the city and the nation? Very little. Because we can house only 370 persons in First Houses, and there are 1,750,000 persons living in sub-standard tenements in New York City alone; and many more millions in the whole of the United States.

Hugh S. Cumming, surgeon-general of the United States, has said:

The United States Public Health Service wishes to endorse strongly a program which will further the demolition of slum areas and the construction of low-cost houses. Reduction of mortality and sickness rates in the future will rest to a degree on extending to the total population the health standards of the more favored groups. One necessity is that a sanitary, healthful environment be available. It is not to be implied that such an environment will immediately change the health or housekeeping habits of any group of the population—the slow processes of health education must play their part—but the ultimate effect, I confidently believe, would be enormous.

The only way I know, at the present time, to accomplish this result is to demand the passage of the Wagner Housing Bill. The time for debate is past. First Houses is showing, on a little scale, what can be done on a larger scale. There remains our duty to see that, in the words of Isaiah, "the little one shall become a thousand."

HEALTH BENEFITS TO BE EXPECTED FROM BETTER HOUSING

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THE individual practitioner of medicine has long been disciplined in estimating the worth of dietary régimes, drugs, mechanical treatments, and the like, offered to him by plausible, often honest, but almost invariably uncritical and partisan promoters of some panacea. He is deeply impressed with the variability of disease and the differences in the reactions of the multitude of individuals to the same infection or dysfunction. He is even ready to admit that there are almost as many ways by which health can be achieved as there are kinds of ill health.

The student of demography, the practitioner of aggregate preventive medicine, has had neither the length of experience of the physician engaged in curative medicine, the range and variety of the latter's observations, nor the accurate bases of control by which he can readily determine whether social measures proposed for health betterment can be relied upon to produce the promised results. He is faced by phases of promotion, perhaps less venal, less subject to personal interests of a commercial nature, but nonetheless ruthless and powerful in their publicity than are those of the proprietary drug or health-food promoter.

Among the proposals constantly urged upon the sanitarian as certain to advance the state of public health are birth control, minimum wages and hours of work, and better housing for the wage-earner, each of which may be socially desirable, but for

other reasons than health. The promoters of each of these lean heavily upon vital statisticians, upon public and private health agencies, upon professional educators and salesmen of public health to support their particular line of social advance.

Everything in the economic and social sense appears to favor a replacement of old by new construction of homes in many parts of the United States, and yet this does not imply that substantial improvement in the health of the occupants of these better houses can be predicted on any basis of past experience or controlled observation. May I then briefly outline the evidence now available as to what are the kinds and orders of benefits which may be expected from such housing projects as are currently promoted.

Man's housing of himself has been no exception to the general biological experience that for every measure of greater security for his possessions, for each added factor of comfort and convenience against weather which he has developed, man has sacrificed something of value, some definite health benefit, such as the free flowing air, the sunlight upon his body, and trained reactions of skin and circulation to meet variations of environment.

However perfect a building may be for its purpose, it may be so occupied as to constitute a hazard to the health of the occupants and a focus of disease for the neighborhood. It may be said with equal truth that there is hardly any shelter worthy of the name of house which cannot be so occupied by persons of intelligence as to be free from the hazards of health.

It is the person in the communicable stage of syphilis, of tuberculosis, of a dysentery among the residents, or the excess occupancy of rooms that constitutes the major sanitary hazard of housing, rather than the mal-arrangement of windows, doors, stairs, or equipment for cooking and personal cleanliness.

Lay opinion is firm in the belief that poor housing is a cause of ill health. Architects, settlement workers, and most social agencies take it for granted that the reasons for high sick and death-rates among the badly housed are the buildings inhabited.

There is no such strong conviction among physicians, sanitarians, or vital statisticians. A close analysis of causes and results tends to confirm those professionally concerned with health in a belief that the construction is of less concern to health than the manner of occupancy of the building. It is not so much by the plan, materials, proportion, or prospect but in the use, and from the quality of the occupants that buildings affect the incidence of preventable disease and premature death.

No recent publication so well discloses the inconsistency of the evidence, the conflicting arguments, the uncertainty of conclusions as does the article by Mr. Rollo H. Britten in the *United States Public Health Service Weekly Reports*,¹ prepared as a supporting document for the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration. The desiderata for good housing are so few and simple, and can on the whole be so easily commanded in modern cities that the suspicion is roused that slums are the sign of an economic, a social, an educational, and occupational error at least as much as they are a product of bad building.

The items of a good house from the sanitarian's point of view are a building water proofed and insulated; with interior surfaces dry and easily cleanable; of a size proportionate to use (not less than one room per person); window lighted (windows not less than 15 per cent of floor space, or so located as to permit not less than 0.5 per cent of the outside daylight at the middle of the living-room); with assurance of good air (ventilation by cross-air movement through windows opening directly to outdoors); with water supply within doors, and sewer or equivalent sanitary connection; and with screening against flies and mosquitoes where these prevail.

Health hazards far and away greater than any which can be properly charged against city tenements, as now generally permitted, are the polluted water supplies and insanitary privies of some millions of rural dwellers. Mr. Britten, the statistician, enumerates the elements in bad housing which may contribute to ill health, "impure water supply, insanitary toilets, lack of

¹ November 2, 1934, pp. 1301-13.

sewer connections," as well as lack of air, wetness of walls, and lack of screening of windows and outer doors. There is hardly a factor he offers for proof of relation between housing and ill health which cannot be explained on the basis of inadequate earnings, intelligence, education, or that quality so wisely termed "maternal efficiency" by the health students of Scotland.

Perhaps the most important single problem of environment in city housing in northern climates is provision for sufficient light, direct or diffused, from sun or sky, to maintain reasonable sanitation of rooms and halls through the disinfectant property of sunlight which, if not hindered by dirty windows or by shades, will accomplish much to reduce the viability and virulence of the common human pathogens thrown off from nose and throat, and spread about by saliva. Other things such as housing being equal, the general death-rate, the infant mortality, the tuberculosis and other respiratory disease rates rise with amazing consistency with each drop in the average annual family income.

When moving into newer, better housing takes a little more of the earnings for rent, two things happen among families at the daily-wage or hand-to-mouth level of existence; first, a reduction in the sum spent for food and, second, the taking-in of extra persons for board or lodging to help meet the rent. The resultant undernourishment and overcrowding can be relied upon to offset any advantage presumed to come from the better building, and the sick and the death-rates will rise elsewhere under such conditions as they were found by McGonigle to do in Stockton-on-Tee and in Glasgow. The perpetual chain of ignorance, disease, poverty, dependency, slum housing, human deterioration, etc., can be broken at any link, and even if effort is made by government and philanthropy to break in at the housing link, there will still be the rest of the shackles to drag down any such family, however nicely they may be located in well-planned buildings.

Every health officer will sympathize with the honest urge

upon government, finance, and industry to seize the present auspicious moment to clear away ill-built houses and replace them with better, but I suspect that any critical student with a scientific habit of thought will read all the admirable array of references on housing without satisfying himself that better housing by itself can be trusted to contribute much to the unprecedented excellence of the present national health. It is a way of life we have it in mind to improve, a goal less dependent upon the walls we have about us than on the qualities of the inmates.

Improvement in health from better housing in Great Britain and Scotland can be explained, in such instances as any valid claims have been made for such results, quite as readily by the changes in the sizes of families and reduction in the ratio of persons to rooms as by any effect of the planning and construction of new buildings. Smaller family units and a ratio of one or less person per room in dwellings will almost automatically reduce the incidence and deaths from most of those diseases recognized as preventable. Particularly in the reduction in the number of children under ten years of age per family, and in the increase in the percentage of families without children, do we see factors adequate to explain improvements in the health status of a community often claimed as an asset of better housing.² The evidence is abundant and, on the whole, convincing that the general death-rate is low where the number of rooms per house or home is up and the number of persons per room is down, and vice versa, with quite orderly and consistent trends.

There need be no question as to direct relationship between accidental falls, and defective halls and stairs and insufficient lighting of them. The injurious effects of fumes, gases, odors, poisonous or merely offensive, may be admitted as possible results of nuisances created within or without occupied premises.

² J. W. Nixon, "The Size, Constitution and Housing Standards of the Family in England and Wales, 1911-31," *Rev. d. l'Institut International d. Stat.*, Livraison II (3 année, 1935); William Jones, "Survey of 1931 Census Report for the City of Glasgow," *Proc. Royal Philos. Soc. of Glasgow*, Vol. LXI (1933).

Both of these categories are susceptible of correction, through well-recognized administrative authority and procedures, and except in rare instances they are matters of repair and upkeep and only remotely related to preventable disease, or to architectural design, or to original building construction.

There seems to be no evidence of a promising and credible nature that housing *per se* is responsible directly for nervous disease although an excellent case can be made for damage to mental efficiency, emotions, conduct, and personality by the crowding, lack of privacy, and conditions for quiet rest which accompany crowded living quarters at whatever economic level.

In the categories of communicable and infectious diseases and nutrition for growth and development there is much circumstantial evidence and some quite suggestive correlation of a statistical nature to the effect that there are limits to the crowding in room, house, lot, and block which may be permitted for people of low economic levels or of mediocre intelligence.

In Detroit (1920-29) and New York (1922-30) in this country and in Glasgow and Edinburgh careful studies have shown that increased prevalence of reported cases or deaths from pulmonary or other forms of tuberculosis is related directly under these conditions to houses unsuitably constructed, and occupied with an excessive ratio of persons to rooms. Among industrial workers in Cincinnati the United States Public Health Service found that bad housing had a marked effect on the tuberculosis rate which was, in turn, affected by poverty, lack of segregation of advanced sputum cases, and lack of provision for incipient cases.

Communicable diseases spread by discharges of the intestinal tract are found uniformly to be more prevalent where house and lot crowding are accompanied by insanitary provision for disposal of human excreta, and for water and food supplies, among families of all economic levels whether in urban or rural communities. The most carefully conducted studies in Detroit above referred to showed quite conclusively no correlation between incidence and death-rates from measles, scarlet fever,

diphtheria, and whooping cough and housing conditions which were not better explained by other factors of susceptibility and exposure of the child population.

Dick in London found that, while rickets varies with climate and season, its incidence is aggravated by residence in dark, damp houses and lack of opportunity for exercise outdoors for young children. Walker in Detroit found close correlation between insufficient daylight (less than 0.25 per cent of outside light) in the center of the living-room and the prevalence of rickets. Where there was as much as 0.50 per cent of outside sunlight and daylight in the living-room, rickets was rarely found.

Studies on infant and maternal mortality rates by the Children's Bureau, as well as those by Newsholme in England and Walker in Detroit, and the comparison between the populations of garden cities and adjacent industrial cities in England are consistent in showing a close correlation between the loss of life from childbirth and in the first year of infant life, and the number of persons per room in tenement housing, and particularly with the number sleeping in the same room with the infant. Darkness and crowding in rooms where home deliveries are the custom and where the economic level of the family makes the mother the sole houseworker, and often also a wage-earner, are directly related to high maternal and infant death-rates. Again, it is the use of rooms and the economic status of the occupants, more than the construction, arrangement, and equipment of buildings and rooms that determine their harmful influence upon life.

Regardless of race stock the more persons there are per room, and the more families there are per dwelling, i.e., the greater the block, lot, and room crowding, the higher the infant mortality rates. Furthermore, it must be recognized that maternal intelligence, thrift, good standards of housekeeping, and good habits of diet and occupation will prevent even very inferior housing from being a menace to health, if a reasonable ratio of persons to rooms is not exceeded (e.g., one to one), and con-

trariwise that no housing construction or equipment will of itself guarantee a good level of health where ignorance and slovenliness of the homemakers are coupled with unavoidable overcrowding (i.e., two or more persons per room).

It will be evident to anyone reviewing the published records and opinions resulting from studies of sickness and death in relation to the housing of people at different economic levels that practically all authors deal not with housing *per se*, i.e., construction, interior arrangement, equipment, convenience, window spaces, etc., but with the use of the buildings. That is, housing in the minds of most students of health relationships appears to mean block crowding, lot crowding, lack of access of light, air, water, sewer convenience, play space and neighborhood amenities, and also persons per family, families per house, sleepers per room, home ownership, etc. While the construction of houses of a size, interior arrangement, and location which render them liable to abuse to the detriment of the health of the tenants should not be permitted, it is only with the manner of use, the number of occupants, their concentration in room, house, lot, or block, as these give rise to preventable disease and postponable deaths, that the health authority is concerned and must take action.

The following statements from widely quoted and accepted authorities in the field of health and housing reveal characteristic attitudes and points of view.³

People live in poor houses because they are poor, and they keep poor because they live in poor houses. The vicious cycle is not due to preference but to poverty, and poverty is largely consequent upon disease.

There is no causal relationship between density of population *per se* and high mortality. The true index of density is the number of persons per occupied room. Crowding in individual rooms, not on land area, is the factor in raising death rates.

I should like to quote from an authoritative publication from Great Britain the presidential address of Lord Balfour at the

³ For reference see *President's Conference on Home Building* (White House Conference on Housing and the Community, 1932), chapter on "Housing and Health."

South African Health Congress in the May issue of the *Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute* of this year. Lord Balfour said in part:

The fact of the matter is that the housing problem is one for which no government has so far found a satisfactory solution. All these Acts, and even part of the latest Act, the Housing Act, 1935, have endeavoured to deal with the problem of the overcrowding of buildings themselves, but the 1935 Act has also provided powers for dealing with what is really a separate problem, that of the overcrowding of individuals in a house.

For the first time a definite standard of overcrowding has been prescribed and it consists of two parts. One part provides that there must be sufficient sleeping accommodation in a house to secure proper sex separation; the other part is a standard of capacity, and fixes, in relation to the accommodation in any particular house, the maximum number of persons, irrespective of sex, which may be permitted to sleep in that house at one time. In applying a standard, a child who is less than one year old is not counted, and a child between the ages of one and ten years is counted as half a unit. The standard is set out in the following tables:

TABLE I

Where a House Consists of	The Permitted Number of Persons is
a) One room	2
b) Two rooms	3
c) Three rooms	5
d) Four rooms	7½
e) Five rooms or more	10 with an additional 2 in respect of each room in excess of 5

In using this table a room of less than fifty square feet is not counted as a room.

TABLE II

Where a Room in a House Has a Floor Area Of	The Permitted Number of Persons Is
a) 110 sq. ft. or more	2
b) 90 sq. ft. or more, but less than 110	1½
c) 70 sq. ft. or more but less than 90	1
d) 50 sq. ft. or more but less than 70	½
e) Under 50 sq. ft.	Nil

In the application of these tables account is to be taken only of rooms which are normally used in the locality either as a living-room or as a bedroom, i.e., bathroom or scullery is not counted.

At least two factors affect the health of persons and families much more seriously and definitely than does housing, and these are bodily nutrition, and the physical and psychical conditions of employment. It is less likely that any material improvement in human health in this country will be achieved by any housing and slum-clearance programs now proposed or likely to be achieved in the next thirty years, than that striking, prompt, and widespread betterment of the health of our people, both children and adults, would follow such measures of education, opportunity, and enforcement as would assure not only the minimum basic nutrition for all, which is well within the possibilities of our food and financial resources, but a reduction in the innumerable and almost universally prevalent hazards of occupation.

SOCIAL-WORK BASIS FOR PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME: COMMUNITY FACTORS

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THE first two paragraphs of that very useful pamphlet, *Co-ordinating Community Resources for Youth*, issued by the Office of Education, Department of the Interior, give us a dramatic if not altogether total picture. I quote:

1929: Paging Youth! Jobs are calling. This way to the nearest factory, office, shop. Schools, Colleges, pouring out $2\frac{1}{4}$ million new recruits. Jobs plentiful, employers on the look out, the way ahead seems smooth sailing.

1935: Paging Jobs! Youth is calling. Schools, Colleges continue to pour out their millions, but factories, offices, shops are closed to them. The scramble is in reverse—Youth is in search of jobs. The World they have prepared for greets them with a 'Not Wanted' sign.

Since 1929 more than 12,000,000 have left school—a population greater than that of Canada and as large as the total population of the Scandinavian Peninsula.

This statement would tend to indicate that times were very good in 1929 and that no great problems existed so far as youth was concerned; that the depression is responsible for all the woes facing us today. True, the depression has intensified and magnified these woes, but basically the problems confronting the community remain the same:

1. In 1929 a sizeable number of young and old, too, were involuntarily out of jobs.
2. Insufficient earnings constituted the same burning question then as now.
3. Numbers of youngsters then, as now, continued to drop out of school for a variety and complexity of reasons.
4. Other numbers were chronic truants; juvenile courts and boys' courts were and still are filled with juvenile delinquents; prisons were and are crowded, and the taxpayers are still continuing to spend thousands of dollars at the wrong end.

Of all but the first mentioned no one knows whether there has been an increase or a decrease.

The problems remain the same because the basic factors underlying our social structure—indeed, organic in it—remain the same. A recognition of them must be faced in any discussion of community factors as they relate to juvenile delinquency, its treatment, and its prevention. Fundamentally these can be reduced to three: (i) inequality, (ii) competition, (iii) individualism.

I. THE BASIC FACTOR OF INEQUALITY

Persons are unequal in their inherited tendencies and in their developed capacities, through favoring or unfavoring circumstances, through accident or untoward condition. Mere matters of stature, of physique, of family background are potent elements in one's life. Let us consider the mere matter of location of one's home. Almost without exception the disadvantaged groups in any city are in the least desirable and most socially destructive neighborhoods. This is a fact because each city is a conglomerate of social units, each unit circulating in its own orbit and blissfully unconcerned about all others. Every city is made up of four types of persons:

- A. The type that has no knowledge of the social problems of its city.
- B. The type that knows vaguely, but has no correct information as to extent or implications.
- C. The type that knows, but does not know what to do about the situation.
- D. The type (few in number) that knows, and knows what to do. Social workers by virtue of constant and continuous study have an obligation to be a part of this group.

Thus we have isolation of classes, each alien to others in knowledge, habit, feeling, and aspiration. The comfortable and upper-income groups know nothing firsthand of the struggles and degradation of those living in alleys, beside the gas tanks, and in similar undesirable places. Just what significance attaches to inequalities of environment is extremely difficult of analysis because flowers bloom in the most unfavorable spots; and so long as one wholesome citizen emerges from a particu-

larly vicious locality, no sweeping statement can be made that environment alone is responsible for all the ills.

On the other hand, significance does attach to the fact that all ecological studies show a startling concentration of destructive elements. Juvenile delinquency runs high in localities showing a high rate of adult crime. Witness the Cleveland Studies, Richmond Maps, and those of Washington, D.C., all of which give scholarly analyses of pertinent data. In every instance these same localities show a dearth of cultural and socially constructive forces which reinforce the individual. It is also significant that the youngster's philosophies and values reflect the customs and cultural patterns of the neighborhood. His values are molded by what he sees, hears, and experiences. If these experiences are sordid, the results generally are warped personality, antisocial behavior, distorted and false values. Contra, generally wholesome surroundings manipulated by intelligent parents, teachers, and others with whom the child comes into contact reflect themselves in creative adequate youngsters.

Thus social relations greatly strengthen or greatly weaken the individual as the case may be. Certain it is that no one lives unto himself alone. His social relations are fundamental and enduring. Socially reinforced by family ties, by friendship, good reputation, credit, and the consciousness that one has the esteem of others makes one strong indeed. Those without such reinforcement are weak indeed. To quote Dr. William J. Kerby: "The hope of not disappointing those in whose good opinion we place our aims and our honor is a foundation stone in all sturdy character."¹

Certainly the youngster was not a criminal at birth. The human material is molded by personal experiences. Whatever antisocial behavior manifests itself usually develops in early life and during adolescence, and the life-patterns become pretty well fixed early in years. Our emphasis should be directed accordingly.

We are told by one of the early philosophers that we all are

¹ *Social Mission of Charity*, p. 20.

born with certain fundamental drives—namely: to be, to have, to create, and to belong. Thomas calls these drives the “4 wishes”: wish for security; wish for response; wish for recognition; and the wish for new experience.

These, when reasonably well molded, developed, balanced, and intelligently directed, produce fairly adequate human beings, helpful to themselves and to the community. Conversely, when ill directed or uncorrected by constructive forces either within or without the confines of the particular neighborhood, any or all of these inherent drives develop varying degrees of difficulties, spelling disaster alike for the individual and for the community.

You will recall, no doubt, the very exhaustive study Payne made regarding the effect of movies upon children. Among the devices used were certain elaborate reaction tests. The results of these tests indicated that movies depicting gangsters and other undesirable characters made little impression on children in better neighborhoods, while the results indicated a marked reaction among children in poor neighborhoods. Is it too venturesome to suggest that the difference between the two groups was not attributable to the movies, but to the everyday experiences of each youngster in his or her own bailiwick? The youngsters in each instance were simply sticking to the average way of living in their respective neighborhoods. For example, in one section of Washington not far from the juvenile court a woman, walking out of her house under arrest, accompanied by one or even two officers, causes no more excitement nor has the incident any more significance for the children in that section than the incident of a woman's walking out of her home in exclusive Chevy Chase to go to her favorite bridge club has for the children of that neighborhood.

And so, all forms of strength—wealth, education, leisure, healthful surroundings, privacy, possibilities for development, status, articulateness—are banded together. On the other hand, all forms of weakness—poverty, crowded quarters, poor housing, insecurity of income, lack of wholesome example, and lack

of wholesome recreational facilities—combine to defeat acceptable standards of living for great masses of persons in every large city.

II. THE BASIC FACTOR OF COMPETITION AMONG UNEQUAL PERSONS

These unequal persons are compelled to compete at every step: (1) in school, (2) on the playground, (3) in the settlements, (4) for a place in the community, (5) for a living. Unrelieved in the severity of the struggle by state action or by the cultural forces in the community, the outcome is inevitable—the strong win and the weak lose. I would not have you believe that all difficulty comes from factors outside the individual. We all know persons who have had opportunity of education, of gentle and cultured home training, but who, for complex reasons, are not much good to themselves or to anyone else. This group is small, however, as compared to the great group who have little or no control over the forces that sweep them along.

Competition must be analyzed from two angles: (1) the effect at close range and (2) the more remote impersonal aspects, if you will. Taking the effect at close range first, we may state that children within any neighborhood fall into three or four categories:

1. The self-reliant well-rounded youngster with certain leadership abilities and reasonably good intellect. He is usually in Boy Scouts, settlement boys' clubs, school and church activities.
2. Those whose behavior ranks them as "socially unacceptable," i.e., they indulge in temper tantrums, stealing, lying, and similar antisocial activities.
3. Bad-personality reaction group, i.e., those with a tendency toward seclusiveness, timidity, oversensitiveness, cowardliness, unpopularity, boastfulness, bullying, etc.
4. Those having problems in habit formation, sleeping and eating difficulties, enuresis, masturbation, etc.

Of course these categories are not clear-cut; there is much overlapping of the groups. These children of the neighborhood at different ages all frequent the same neighborhood playground, social settlement, or boys' club as the case may be. What happens? The first-mentioned group, namely, the more

adequate, unconsciously gain the attention and interest of those in charge, and quickly gain status in the club and, with it, a sort of vested right and privilege to use the equipment and space on all occasions and to the exclusion of those who have the greater need. Every head of a community house realizes too well the truth of this statement. One of the greatest problems of those in charge is to make the staff give attention to, and have a real interest in, the unpopular, unwanted, personally unattractive, non-conforming youngster.

These difficult, troublesome youngsters are on the doorstep of every settlement. They belong to gangs who probably have visited the settlement a few times, but who have not become a part of the place and, not having status, feel out of place and so drop out; but they still remain a menace in the neighborhood. They belong to gangs instead of to clubs. It is an axiom that one must belong and be part of something bigger than one's self.

This condition will endure until the settlements recognize that the work of getting acquainted with every difficult youngster outside the institution and finding a place for him in the scheme of things according to his bents is equally important with the work that goes on inside the institution—indeed more so, and this cannot be a spasmodic job. It is not enough just to provide supervised free play. The youngster must be made a part of some definite whole. The place that symbols occupy in athletics, in sororities, in fraternities, and in clubs demonstrates this point. There must also be some romance regarding the name of the club—something that catches the imagination of the boy or girl.

Now, taking the wider aspect of competition—antiquity gives us the adage: "Nothing is so unjust as to treat unequals equal." Implications of this wider competition among unequals are apparent in the regulations and routine of school systems. The school curriculum with its demands for home work is the same for the youngster who has a room to himself, a comfortable, convenient place to study, and intelligent parents who have both the time and the inclination to identify themselves with

the school, as for the one whose privacy consists of one-quarter of a bed in the kitchen and who is indeed lucky if he has a place of any kind in which to place his belongings. Likely as not, he, together with the other members of the household, lives a communistic life, sharing the few rooms with two or three other families. More often than not his mother is away from the home, working to supplement the income, and he has little or no supervision regarding his home work or anything else.

It is preposterous to expect the same grade of work from the one group as the other without a corresponding adjustment in the school system itself. One high school in Washington is trying the experiment of prolonging the school day one hour in order to give the pupils a chance to do their home work in the school. It is revealing that the school is a high school, located in one of the good residential sections of the District, and that the experiment was requested by the parents through their parent-teacher club.

From the point of view of juvenile delinquency the attitude toward the police is even more revealing. Policemen are for the protection of all, but the children in the poorer neighborhoods know nothing of the law from the standpoint of protection. They know it only in conflict. They learn to avoid the police, or, what is vastly more devastating, youngsters scarcely out of the toddling age learn an astuteness and sophistication when being interrogated by the police out of all proportion to their years.

III. THE BASIC FACTOR OF INDIVIDUALISM

The factors of inequality and competition are rendered more acute by the fact that we live in a country whose philosophy is essentially and traditionally individualistic. The state has always looked to the home, to the church, to the school, and to the other cultural forces in the community to equalize the chances of the unequal. When these forces break down (as they are bound to do under an urban economy), the state steps in, in the form of social legislation of one kind or another, and assumes a larger or smaller proportion of the burden. Just what propor-

tion is assumed by tax-supported agencies and what is left to private initiative depend upon many and complex factors which cannot be discussed in the time allowed. Suffice to say that, whatever the proportion, there must be honest and wholehearted co-ordination and co-operation between the two in any program of social and economic welfare which includes a constructive plan for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Planned social economy and not agency boundaries must obtain. Provincialism is as reprehensible in a social agency as it is in a state or a country. It can have no place in the thinking of social workers.

What can be done? What can social work contribute in the plan of things? I shall attempt no exhaustive list, but shall confine my remarks to five observations which seem to me fundamental and sufficiently broad:

1. Social workers, by virtue of their threefold knowledge—(a) knowledge of the human material with which they deal, its drives, its aims, its motives, its latent capacities, its achievements, and its frustrations; (b) knowledge of the cultural forces and of the destructive forces of the community; and (c) rather thoroughgoing knowledge of the fundamental social, economic, and political structure and forces of our country—must of necessity be the leaders in constructive planning. There must be constant study as to the intensity of the problem in any one location. We must learn to look for the unit of measurement in any problem and then count the units.

It is of no great benefit to know that there are fifty thousand arrests in a given city or that three thousand delinquent children pass in review before the court of that city. We must know where in our city these persons live, specifically what destructive forces are operating to cause this condition of things, and what constructive forces can be rallied to that particular area to eradicate the undesirable factors.

Recently the magnates of all leading railroads sat in conference. These railroads carry thousands of passengers during the year, but the whole time and attention of these shrewd, skilled

business men were centered on what it cost a railroad to carry one passenger one mile—something like one-eighth of a cent. All discussion centered around this one-eighth of a cent. Improvement of service and consideration for its passengers were not talked of.

2. Each city should have two or three private agencies which would be willing and able to break down their traditionalisms, and to liquidate and reorganize themselves to meet new needs as these arise. We have enough agencies. What is really vital is that these agencies be more flexible, and that there be a whole-hearted willingness on the part of the personnel courageously to turn aside from customary and traditional grooves to undertake wholly new and, if need be, less romantic services. Such a course is arduous—indeed, maybe irksome. It is assuredly more difficult than continuing on over known ground, but if the compensation is better distribution of vital services to those who need the services, that knowledge is sufficient.

3. Neighborhood or community councils have great potentiality as devices not only for prevention of delinquency, but to combat all the other ills of a particular neighborhood. They can be a positive force in securing benefits which will enrich the lives of every person in the section. However, if these councils are to function at their highest level, there must be a closer knit organization of all cultural groups within the area. Such councils must include police, school teachers and principal, health officers and private physicians, business and civic organizations' representatives, the clergy of all denominations in the particular area. All must be active participants. Social workers, nurses, and other professional persons, by reason of their first hand information, should acquaint the council members as to volume, kind, and gravity of various problems, but the ultimate solutions must rest usually with the men and women living and working within the vicinity. The neighborhood can change only as the residents are aroused and manifest articulate desire for change. Unless there is constant vigilance, there is danger that the council may be dominated by one group or that terminology

become technical, etc. These situations are fatal to real usefulness.

4. We must discard our traditional theory regarding rights of youngsters who voluntarily drop out of school because they are not interested in the present system. We are in the vicious and stupid habit of thinking in terms of only one alternative for this group—i.e., if the child is not in school, he must be at work. The fact is there just aren't jobs to go around. Furthermore, there won't be.

We must liberalize the education or school system to fit the child. Pretty much all these years we have been making the youngster do the "fitting." In nearly every community there is a dearth of well-set-up vocational schools. In addition to these there should be regional occupational schools for industrial arts. These schools should be differentiated from the vocational training schools. Regional occupational schools should be activity centers for all age groups up to twenty-five—the program should be widely varied and adult education methods used, namely, young people should be allowed choice of work depending upon interest and there should be utmost flexibility as to hours and program. A considerable portion of the program could be extra-mural. Every city of fair size offers multiple opportunity via study-club method and extra-mural organization for interesting adventures in education through art galleries, museums, governmental setup, libraries, business and social organizations and so on through an almost inexhaustible list.

Under the present rigid academic school curriculum the youngster who drops out of school pays an undue share for the education of those who continue on through college. He must pay taxes, direct or indirect, for state colleges, and his low wages too often make possible huge gifts to private colleges. In either case he derives no proportionate benefit.

An intelligent plan of informal education through a setup of industrial arts centers, vocational classes, and study-club units, promulgated under adult education methodology as stated above would give purpose and richness to life for great numbers of

young people who have too long been entirely overlooked and neglected.

5. Probably the most fundamental issue to which social workers could direct their attention is that concerning a more equitable distribution of wealth. The President's social-security program leads the way. It is difficult to conceive of and to discuss a social-work basis for prevention and treatment of delinquency and crime when families are herded into unspeakably unfit quarters; when privacy and security are words almost without meaning for thousands of growing children.

In conclusion, let me say that social workers have an inescapable obligation to make possible the attainment in some reasonable measure of those objectives for which they, along with all other persons in the community, strive: namely, (1) making a living, (2) making a life, and (3) making social life. The first—making a living—is essentially economic and incidentally takes up the major portion of waking time for nearly everybody. “Making a life” is essentially personal and spiritual. It implies some time and a few pennies for study, for meditation, and the building-up of inward strength. “Making social life” implies certain leisure time and freedom from the constant worry of bread and butter in order to take one's place in the community, in school life, and in church activities, contributing whatever is in one to contribute to the general weal whether that contribution be big or little. Thus will the sanctity of the individual be preserved and the community reflect the ideals of our democracy.

SOCIAL-WORK BASIS FOR PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME: INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

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IN SPITE of the many differing points of view and unsubstantiated deductions in the field of crime treatment, some fairly crystallized concepts have gradually been evolved during the past three decades that may serve as a foundation for much improved programs. That criminality is the result of conflict—conflict between the inner urges of man to which all of us are heir, and the repressive influences necessitated by civilized living—is denied by few. The degree to which there is a disbalance between these instinctual drives and the demands of cultural conformity determines the amount of criminality that the individual will express in his social relationships. Another indisputable finding is that nearly always criminality is related to early experiences, either during childhood or during early adolescence. Generally speaking, in gross characteristics the majority of offenders are apparently normal.

We do find, however, that most delinquents and criminals are emotionally ill individuals. This element of emotional illness is especially discernible when the young delinquent is treated either in the clinic or in the institution. This illness is as real as any physical illness and is deep-seated in the delinquent and criminal. Its beginnings generally were early in life, and upon careful analysis in the treatment process it is found that in most instances it is attributable to parent-child relationships—the early experiences of children in their contact with either one or both parents.

Most of these findings are accepted by many serious workers and investigators in the field. There is, however, one aspect basic to all the foregoing conclusions that is shared by too few of those who work with delinquents and criminals. I refer to the power of the unconscious as a determinant in conduct. I firmly believe that, until this fact is accepted, very little progress will be made in the treatment of delinquency and criminality. The realization of the operation of unconscious motivations in behavior results in the displacement of custodial and punitive attitudes by the therapeutic approach. Most students of human behavior know that the behavior patterns of early childhood, whether derived from the immediate or more remote environment, are so completely internalized as to possess the strength of instincts themselves.

Much has been said about the need for change of environment in treatment. It should be remembered, however, that if we consider the emotional illness of the patient, based so frequently on conflicts in the unconscious, we shall see how futile it is to expect positive results from merely manipulating the external environmental situation, whether it be the job, the recreational opportunity, or any other external facility that is made available; success will come only in rare instances unless treatment has been accorded the individual prior to effecting this environmental change. To be sure, environment is a determinant of conduct, but once a person is addicted to misconduct by those very compelling forces that get out of his control, mere changes in his environment later on without treating his malady is akin to locking the door of the stable after the horse has been stolen. It is the failure to consider the dynamics of human behavior in treating the offender that frequently causes us to despair and to oscillate between giving him the bounties of the environment or subjecting him to punitive measures and extreme deprivations. There is a similar misconception with reference to education. Education which is a duplication of the verbalistic, abstract type of learning, to which the maladjusted person has been subjected for many years, will yield no results.

It needs to be therapeutic, creative, concretely related to experience in living, and answer the needs produced by the specific personality illness of the individual.

We find on the basis of experience in treating delinquent behavior and problems of personality that the same symptoms frequently express very different motivations. Let us take stealing. A boy steals from his mother the exact amount that she gave his brother. Another steals only when he is disappointed with his mother's treatment of him in any situation. One may steal, of course, as a result of deprivation. Boys steal to gain power. Girls may steal those things which were denied them by puritanical parents. Children may truant because they cannot compete on an equal footing with their fellow-students, or as an expression of hostility to a parent, or as a defiance against authority. Sex delinquency may be due to patterns of sexual immorality imbibed from a parent or other adult in early years; it may result from a denial of the much-needed affection in early childhood. Destructive behavior may be of the "bully" variety due to a compensation for an inner feeling of insecurity. It may be if the "baby" variety due to an overindulgence in early life. It may be of the sadistic variety due to a hardening of character engendered by extreme deprivations in early life.

It will readily be seen from these few illustrations, selected at random from an agency dealing with delinquent and problem behavior, that to deal with specific symptoms, such as stealing, lying, or aggressive behavior, as if they expressed the same conflicts and were caused by the same motivations is almost as wasteful and even hazardous as it is to treat all offenders as if they belonged to a separate and distinct group in society.

There are certain essentials of treatment that need be considered here even though briefly. In the first place, as Bernard Glueck so advisedly points out, "Criminalism should be considered as a form of conduct subject to the same laws which apply to all other forms of conduct." Any other attitude than this must of necessity result in failure. Any attempt to look upon criminal behavior as "badness" instead of "illness" is

bound to result in aggravation rather than remedy. It is this confusion in what we call the "correctional field" that makes so much of our work alien to the goals and content of social work. This does not mean, of course, that there should not be a recognition of inoperability as in the case of physical illness, with the necessary safeguards for society that such inoperability makes necessary either through custodial or through other forms of protective care.

David Levy points out that in the case of the neurotic the treatment needs to be much more analytic than with the person exhibiting difficulty in personality relationship. Franz Alexander speaks of the "normal criminal" as one whose pattern of behavior is identified with criminal prototypes, in all probability dating back to early childhood; this type engages in criminal activity in conformity to an established pattern of conduct. Aichhorn points out the danger of treating alike those whose delinquency is a result of too little love in childhood and those whose antisocial behavior is the result of too much love in early years.

The object in treatment is to eliminate the need for symptom formations and not to treat the symptoms themselves. The basic element in treatment, regardless of type, is the establishment of a relationship that will make possible the revelation of deep-seated and painful confidences and a frank and free unburdening of that which troubles or concerns the patient most. To be able to effect such a relationship one must possess the type of personality that elicits a "transference." But this is only the beginning. One needs to possess a specialized knowledge and skill for the effective utilization of the results of the relationship—the content revealed and brought forth.

Treatment may take on the simple form of a supportive relationship that will maintain the delinquent emotionally for the needed period until he reveals to himself his strengths and interests and thereby becomes more self-confident in his own capacity to function independently. In the child guidance clinic or agency dealing with problem children, the parents' attitudes

constitute a very important aspect in treatment, especially in so far as they relate themselves to the parent-child relationship.

The delinquent of the overt, aggressive type who finds his antisocial conduct pleasurable and satisfying is the most difficult to treat; and thus far no adequate techniques have been developed in this country with such types, and few real successes are on record. With one whose delinquent behavior is of a neurotic nature, resulting in states of anxiety, fear, and guilt, considerable progress can be made with the proper approach. Again we should emphasize the importance of treating the environmental situation, whether it be the home, the neighborhood, the church, the job, or the recreational group in the light of the individual's ability to accept such changes as may be produced through the help of the case worker, psychiatrist, probation or parole worker.

Who is competent to participate in the treatment process of one of delinquent and criminalistic tendencies? There is, of course, the case worker. The type of treatment that we have described, however, requires a specialization of skills that is beyond the equipment of the general case worker. There is a specific equipment that comes from specialization in the treatment of conduct disorders. It calls for an adaptation of the general case-work skills, especially those influenced by psychoanalytic thinking, to the treatment of the various forms of delinquent-behavior patterns described. Those who now operate in the correctional field have learned much from their daily experience with those suffering from conduct disorders which, when combined with the knowledge and skills of the generic case worker of recent training, yields the type of equipment that is more effective than that of either one alone. The generic case worker is frequently helpless when facing the realities created by delinquent behavior, and the worker in the correctional field frequently does not have the general knowledge of and training in modern case-work procedure. As a matter of fact, the two fields have been long separated and will continue to be until the

schools of social work assume a responsibility for the specialized training that is required for work in the field of delinquency.

The group worker who is interested solely in mass recreation is of little utility in making group activity meaningful and therapeutic to the maladjusted personality who either because of his aggressions or because of his extreme shyness does not fit into the usual organized recreational group. The general ability which may be characterized by the capacity to establish relationships and the possession of psychologic insight that the case worker, the analytic psychiatrist, and the group worker need to possess should be present in all those who have any responsibility whatsoever in influencing the behavior patterns and social attitudes of offenders in all the unofficial and official agencies dealing with the problem. One realizes how theoretical this statement sounds at this time.

There can be little doubt that, if we take the total problem of the treatment of delinquent and criminal behavior, we are compelled to conclude that our failures have been numerous and our successes meager. In the first place, the problem of personality, as such, is an intricate one, and the roots of criminality are deeply imbedded in the very structure of society. In addition, there is the confusion that ensues from the legal conception of anti-social conduct which, in spite of all reform, is a punitive one—one that relates itself to badness and goodness rather than to sickness and health. In the correctional field two thought streams are discernible, one flowing from the field of penology with its age-old connotation of right and wrong, of legal responsibility for one's acts, and the other from the field of social work with its concept of psychic determinism and concern with the dynamics of personality. The former is represented in the main by the court, the judge, the reformatory, the prison; the latter by the child guidance agency, the psychiatrist, the case-work and the group-work agency. Frequently these two streams meet, resulting in confusion leading to contradictions in thought and action.

The contributions from social work have been many, but it should be remembered that it is only recently that case work itself has begun to concern itself with the deeper aspects of personality ills. The correctional field is beset with legal restrictions and impositions which more often than not make necessary an authoritative and coercive approach, a routinization of procedure, and a concern solely with the symptom and not with the personality. The obstacles created by the legal limitations are familiar to all. The contradictions between attempting to treat and attempting to carry out legal dicta at the same time weaken and frequently render ineffectual a therapeutic effort. Few reformatories today possess the personnel that could create the atmosphere that must serve as a basis for treatment whether it be through psychiatric or educational media.

That social-work concepts are making definite inroads into the thinking of those concerned with the delinquent and criminal cannot be denied. One need only read the recent annual reports of the American Prison Association, National Probation Association, or any of the national bodies concerned with the treatment of the delinquent and criminal to discern tendencies in the direction of improving educational and vocational training, psychiatric service, and extension of case work as well as a concern with the broader aspects of prevention. The intake bureaus that are being created in the children's courts as well as in family courts are contributions to that informalization which aids treatment. The adolescents' court is another illustration, and even in the courts of criminal jurisdiction for adults, such as the Magistrates Courts of New York City, there is an attempt at effecting that form of specialization that tends to bring in social-work thinking and procedures.

In the community, mass attempts at treatment and prevention are being made at an accelerated pace. One that has gained considerable vogue in recent years is organized recreation. It is reasoned that, if opportunities are made available for wholesome leisure-time activities, the energies that might be employed in destructive behavior will be consumed in recreational

activities. Recreational facilities for all people, along with all other measures in the interest of a richer and fuller life are, of course, contributors to mental and social health. We should add that, in addition to recreation, we should have economic security, health facilities, adequate and meaningful education, proper housing, social justice, and all other social, economic, and cultural opportunities which in themselves would enrich personality and produce patterns of social conduct that would tend toward wholesome social living. However, when recreation is utilized as an instrument in treatment of those who have personality difficulties, are potentially delinquent, or have already come in conflict with the law, it can be therapeutically effective only if certain fundamental needs in treatment are met. It has already been pointed out that making available recreational facilities to those who are emotionally not ready to utilize them frequently results in fruitless effort. As is well known, those who need socialization most through participation in group activities are reached least by organized recreational facilities of a mass nature.

In the Jewish Board of Guardians we have attempted the experiment of supplementing case-work treatment with recreational group activities by creating specialized therapeutic situations to fit the needs of those to whom we wished to give the opportunity for socialization. Small individualized groups have been organized consisting of ten children each, selected carefully on the basis of our knowledge of them through our case-work contacts. The leader is carefully selected and trained, and the children are wholeheartedly accepted by this leader. There is an absence of repressive rules and regulations, thereby creating an environment conducive to the expression of freedom of activity. Ample opportunity is afforded for the use of creative materials fostering release of tension and giving the child the opportunity to discover constructive and satisfying outlets. The goal is the re-education of the attitude of the child toward a group situation.

In New York City the Crime Prevention Bureau of the police

department is engaging in a mass recreation program as a preventive and curative measure. Some of us are skeptical about the efficacy of this measure as a treatment process, even though increased recreational facilities for the city are always desirable. It is doubtful whether a mass program of this kind can possibly be effective in resolving emotional conflicts of those who are suffering from problems of personality. Personality maladjustment requires more subtle instruments than mass recreational opportunities.

We are likely to talk of prevention rather loosely. If we mean by prevention changes in those fundamental factors in society that produce delinquency and criminality, we need to apply ourselves to social change of a vast nature. As practitioners, it becomes imperative in any preventive program that we limit ourselves to a specific number of objectives, and that we select these very carefully in any community. Mass approach to individuals already ill only rarely results in success. From a social work point of view, a shift of society's attitude toward the criminal from that of a punitive to a clinical base is essential to any measures that might be adopted for cure. We vacillate between fear of the criminal and a desire to rid him of his anti-social motivations. Our fear of him results in punitive and custodial measures in the interest and protection of society, which is incompatible with an attempt to cure and socialize.

On numerous occasions the suggestion has been made that there be a separation between legal and treatment responsibility that the judge determine guilt, and those equipped with knowledge and skill in the problems of personality direct treatment. In such courts as the children's and domestic relations it is doubtful if more than a minimum amount of judicial and legal equipment is needed. If this separation of function were tried—namely, the judge determining the guilt and a group of professionals in the field of personality treatment determining and guiding treatment—a very grave responsibility would be placed upon both the community and our therapists. The community would need to provide socialized facilities for treatment. The

social-work ideology would have to penetrate into the heart of the prison itself. Probation and parole would be a profession of the highly skilled social-work practitioner, and the reformatory would become a school of re-education and a socializing instrument and not a repressive and coercive force. Facilities for the treatment of those suffering from psychopathic and allied illnesses would have to be provided. The tragic bathtub murder in New York City is an illustration of the consequences of lack of treatment facilities for a psychopathic type of personality with criminalistic tendencies.

In so far as the therapist is concerned, the social treatment of crime carries with it indeed a grave responsibility. We know too little about the treatment of conduct disorders. We have too few equipped personnel to do such treatment. In the medical colleges, even today, only a smattering of psychiatry is taught to the students. Recently an advisory committee on psychiatric education of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a plea that an allotment of 3 to 4 per cent of the curriculum time in the medical school be made available for psychiatry. This is a small enough percentage when we consider the importance that a knowledge of psychiatry should play even in the practice of medicine.

We need real, intensive research and experimentation in developing skills in the treatment of personality disorders and properly equipped personnel before we can assume the full responsibility for the treatment program of the delinquent and criminal, should there be effected a separation between the legal and treatment aspects of the crime problem.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES IN SOCIAL APPROACH TO PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

*Hon. Austin MacCormick, Commissioner, Department
of Correction, New York City*

IT IS only fair to warn you that this paper will sound very cynical. It is not that I am cynical on the subject of current progress in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. We go forward slowly enough, to be sure, but there is always progress, and this decade is by no means the least important in the history of crime control and crime prevention. But one must be realistic. There are grave difficulties in the way of anyone who is not content to make the simple approach to the problem indicated by the old Mosaic law and its only slightly less hoary descendant, the substantive and procedural law of America today, and who believes that the social approach alone will prove effective.

The first practical difficulty is that society as a whole does not make a social approach to the problem of delinquency and crime and does not have a socialized viewpoint with regard to it. What we call society is not socially minded on the subject; it is savage. It views crime in the abstract with reasonable serenity and emotional balance and with as much intelligence as it brings to bear on any question. But concrete crime, and especially the criminal in actuality, twentieth-century society views with the alarm, hysteria, irrationality, and helplessness with which the cave man first viewed a saber-toothed tiger climbing into his home.

Any eloquent speaker or writer can move society to sympathy by drawing the picture of a poor boy, the product of a slum

home, who has drifted along the path of juvenile delinquency until he has finally committed a petty stick-up with a gun bought from a dishonest pawnbroker. But that same society may have made the penalty for his act a mandatory sentence of twenty or thirty years in a prison that will certainly ruin him completely. If a system of parole has been established to try to salvage him from the human scrap heap, society will applaud it in principle and will attack it viciously in practice with little judgment as to whether that practice be good or bad. Society generally does not know whether things are good or bad. Society can be counted on for sustained feeling on the subject of crime and delinquency; it cannot be counted on for sustained thinking.

What is this society that I am accusing of being non-social in its attitude toward one of its most vexing problems? Who are its members? You and I assuredly, to start with. But society is more than you and I. Society is Mr. Salvatore, Mr. Smith, Mr. Kolonski, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Cohen, Mrs. Stuyvesant, Mr. Flaherty, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker, the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, the Four Marx Brothers, and the Dionne quintuplets. Society, in short, is all of us.

With any one country as a unit, society is a group of human beings living in economic interdependence which they cannot escape, but which they constantly weaken and vitiate, so far as they can, because of economic selfishness, jealousy, and snobbery. Capital and labor work together because otherwise goods would not be produced, dividends and pay envelopes would not be forthcoming. But capital and labor live in different parts of town, live different lives, vote for different laws, talk different languages, think different thoughts. Social interdependence similarly exists only in part. Only the most unquenchable optimist could claim that social solidarity, a community of interest, a desire for the good of the whole even at the expense of one's own selfish interest, exists in America today.

The lack of a social viewpoint in society itself is, therefore, the first practical difficulty in bringing about a social approach to

any social problem, and particularly such an emotionally disturbing problem as that of crime and delinquency. Where the fundamental social philosophy and social understanding exist in theory rather than in fact, where they are inoperative or ineffective because of the impact of a more powerful philosophy of selfishness and the potent forces of ignorance and half-knowledge, we cannot expect vigorous, sustained, dynamic social action to result.

The second difficulty springs inevitably from the first. Society has established various official agencies to deal directly or indirectly with the problem of crime and delinquency. Leaving prevention out of the discussion for the time being and considering only control and treatment, we must face the fact that four of the chief agencies of society are not organized to make a social approach to the problem and are staffed with personnel which, for the most part, does not have a socialized viewpoint. I refer to the police, the prosecutors, the judiciary, and the prisons. With few exceptions, furthermore, these agencies are grossly ineffective in the control and treatment of crime even on the low level set by the present concept of their functions.

I do not propose to elaborate here the statement that the police, prosecutors, judiciary, and prisons are grossly ineffective even on their present level and that their approach is not socialized. Exceptions to the latter statement can be made, of course. We have a few police activities, such as crime prevention, that make the social approach. Occasionally a socially minded prosecutor gets into office by accident or during a reform wave. Some courts—children's courts, family courts, etc.—are socialized in purpose if not always in procedure. Other courts have judges whose approach is social. Some prisons have programs set up from a socialized viewpoint, and struggle against the greatest difficulties to make them work.

But, if we take them by and large, these agencies of the law do not make a social approach to the problem of crime. In support of the statement that they are also grossly ineffective, I refer you to Dr. Sheldon Glueck's latest book, *Crime and Jus-*

tice, and to the sources on which he has so carefully drawn to substantiate his penetrating indictment of much of the machinery of criminal justice. If you then admit the validity of the indictment, you must realize that one of the chief practical difficulties in a social approach to the problem of crime and delinquency is that society has turned over so large a part of the task of crime control to agencies that are not doing a very good job and that resent intruders with a socialized viewpoint in their territory.

Two other agencies of major importance, probation and parole, in those areas where they are deserving of the name have a socialized viewpoint, are staffed with socially minded personnel, and employ social techniques. Even in those few jurisdictions where they have been developed to a relatively high point, however, they are almost always underfinanced and consequently understaffed, and are subjected to intemperate attacks by legislators, public officials, newspapers, and private citizens.

The attackers often do not know the difference between probation and parole, and usually know little about either. One of the most liberal and powerful newspapers in New York City attacks parole day in and day out, without rhyme, reason, discrimination, or temperance. Another powerful newspaper chain revealed after the arrest of John Fiorenze for the Titterton murder that editorially it did not know the difference between probation and parole, although it felt free to damn both indiscriminately. So terrible a crime may well confuse the thinking of the average citizen, but the conclusion one was led to by these editorial writers, whose thoughts influence millions of people and who have an obligation to think clearly, was that a young offender who had never done anything worse than stealing a secondhand car should be kept in prison for life, even though a careful psychiatric examination had given no indication that he might some day commit so serious a crime as a brutal sex assault and murder. By contrast, a mature man convicted of molesting very young girls in a movie theater was recently given a three months' sentence in New York City and will go free, with-

out any supervision whatever, at the end of that time. On that case there was no editorial comment, although even an uninformed layman ought to be able to guess at the damage that man may do before he dies.

The greatest obstacles in the way of probation and parole, among the few agencies that make a social approach to the problem of crime and delinquency, are public ignorance, public apathy, public savagery—the lack, in short, of an intelligent social consciousness on the part of society as a whole. This attitude weighs similarly against those private and public social agencies which are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. In the larger centers they are numerous, but not numerous enough, because of the lack of adequate private and public support. One may hope that “things to come” include communities where health centers, hospitals, guidance clinics, clubs, community houses, gymnasiums, parks, playgrounds, educational facilities, libraries, museums, music centers, and all other things that promote well-being and happiness, and therefore combat crime and delinquency, are within the easy reach of every person, young or old. Our existing social agencies have the vision to bring such a dream to reality. What they lack primarily is funds. It is a tragedy that they must rely to so great an extent on private support, but this will undoubtedly be so for many years to come. Public support is usually granted to social agencies slowly, reluctantly, with distrust, and often under pressure of the sort that these agencies are not in a position to apply effectively.

There is a characteristic attitude of contempt for social agencies and social workers on the part of those who pass the laws and hold the purse strings. I do not believe that social agencies will ever get far with them until they are convinced that these agencies represent public opinion—in other words, votes. One way of accomplishing this is by publicity, which affects public opinion—in other words, affects votes. It is not enough for a few well-known men and women to appear at public hearings and make thoroughly sound statements on social measures.

Politicians think of something else while such speeches are being made. They supply welcome rest periods for tired political minds.

But imagine what might have happened, for example, when the social-security measures were within a few votes of passing in the New York State Assembly if social agencies throughout the state had started an "On to Albany" movement, if special trains had brought thousands of earnest people into the city, so that the lobbies and galleries of the capitol were packed tight, every hotel in town crowded to the eaves, every spot on which the legislators' eyes fell occupied by voters who meant business? When the newspaper cameramen had used up all their films and the reporters all their adjectives, do you think the necessary votes could ever have been lined up against the measures? Even a die-hard knows when it is time to die gracefully.

One reason why social agencies do not combine more often to produce effective pressure is that they are not effectively co-ordinated. This is also a chief reason why the social approach to the problem of crime and delinquency and to other problems is not more effective. There are enough social agencies in America to make over the nation, but they function largely within their own respective spheres. Within each sphere, moreover, there operate various agencies that are similar in aim and function but are almost as unco-ordinated as though they were dealing with widely differing problems.

Perhaps they should not be co-ordinated. I am not wise enough or experienced enough in social work to say whether they should be or not, but common sense tells me that they should. One sees certain parts of the city with more agencies than they need, others with too few. Some sections have agencies badly suited to their needs—they are too good or too bad. I have seen, in a very poor part of the city, a neighborhood house so elaborate and so beautiful that the average slum boy would never enter it. On the other hand, I have seen one so drab, so ill-equipped and poorly staffed, that it offered the boy on the streets little more than four walls and a roof.

Where is the great master chart of New York City, or any other city—the chart that shows what the social problems of each area are and what agencies are needed to cope with them? Who are watching the chart, like staff officers before a battle plan, sending in re-enforcements here, reducing the forces there, attacking in force at this point, entrenching for a long siege at that point?

Only co-ordinated effort on a co-ordinated plan, I believe, will ever result in a successful attack on any great social problem, and especially on crime and delinquency through prevention rather than through control by suppression. It must be admitted, however, that the attempt to co-ordinate would tend, at first, to weaken our attack. Some of our best social agencies have been established and carried on through private initiative. Some generous men and women are interested principally in one specific type of agency or one locality. They do not warm up to the idea of giving funds to boys' work in general, for example, but develop a strong personal interest in a certain organization or locality. As in practically all lines of endeavor, individual initiative promotes progress. But a large-scale, co-ordinated plan need not kill individual interest or initiative. The plan should show the need and the remedy; the deserts on the master chart can still be watered by private funds, as at present. One cannot escape the practical difficulty of finding social engineers capable of making a comprehensive plan and adjusting it constantly to changing needs, the difficulty of securing widespread agreement from the areas and the agencies concerned, the difficulty of financing the plan, the difficulty of filling in the gaps in underserved areas and removing or revising agencies that are ill-adapted to the areas they serve.

But these difficulties are not insuperable, especially if one takes a long-range view and is ready to think in terms of years for the establishment of a comprehensive plan of social action in any given community. In the meantime much more could be accomplished than at present if there were in every community large enough to justify it a central agency or committee with authority to consolidate and co-ordinate the efforts of agencies

working, either directly or indirectly, in the field of crime prevention. This would include practically every social agency in the community, since every effort to improve social conditions has some effect on the prevention of crime and delinquency. Some of our cities have co-ordinating organizations, but most cities and practically all smaller communities do not, with the exception of organizations for joint money-raising and for discussion of general policies.

Above and beyond local organizations there might well be state crime prevention bureaus like that proposed for New York in Governor Lehman's anticrime program. This bureau was to have a director, a small field staff, and an unpaid advisory council selected on a state-wide basis. Its function was not to be administrative, but to stimulate, guide, and co-ordinate local activities in the field of crime prevention. It is indicative of the practical difficulty in making a social approach that the bill establishing this bureau was killed in committee, for no better reason apparently than that the legislators were looking for measures in the Governor's anticrime program that they could safely kill and thought the Crime Prevention Bureau Bill was "just another one of those frills." The same legislators voted for a substantial increase in the personnel of the state police. The business of catching offenders is something anyone can understand; it is a clear-cut, definite proposition. Preventing offenders, by contrast, is a vague, indefinite business; it is difficult to see how it is done, or to measure the effect of one's efforts. Getting people who are not close to the problem, or are indifferent to it, to understand the necessity for well-organized, well-financed social action to prevent crime will always be one of the chief difficulties that we face.

There are, however, practical difficulties in the social approach to the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency that have nothing to do with the attitude of the public or of legislators, with the inadequacy of existing agencies, or with the lack of plan and co-ordination. They are difficulties inherent in the problem itself. The process of dealing with crime or with the criminal involves three steps: diagnosis, prescrip-

tion, and treatment. We have long since developed techniques which enable us to diagnose and prescribe with reasonable accuracy, but treatment is complicated and costly. If we are honest, moreover, we must check and recheck constantly on our diagnostic methods. Since we are dealing with human behavior in a complex social and economic setting, symptoms are not as conclusive as in the case of a medical patient in a quiet hospital room, whose charts and laboratory tests convey relatively clear-cut evidence. It is not safe to become too sure of one's ground. Most of us, for example, felt sure that the depression would cause a marked increase in crime. As a matter of fact, major crimes have decreased appreciably during the depression, and nobody knows why. Similarly, we have for four years accepted the idea that nineteen-year-old persons lead in the commission of crimes, because the statistics of the Department of Justice have so reported since 1931. Now the Department, frankly puzzled, reports that for the first quarter of 1936 the twenty-two-year-old group leads all the rest, and the nineteen-year group is in fourth place. In the business of diagnosing criminal behavior basic facts do not always remain basic, and sometimes they are not facts. In medicine we have the solid fact that yellow fever is conveyed by mosquitoes. In the field of crime we have no such solid fact as that the crime germ is bred in the slums, or in mental disease, or in anything else of which we can be absolutely certain.

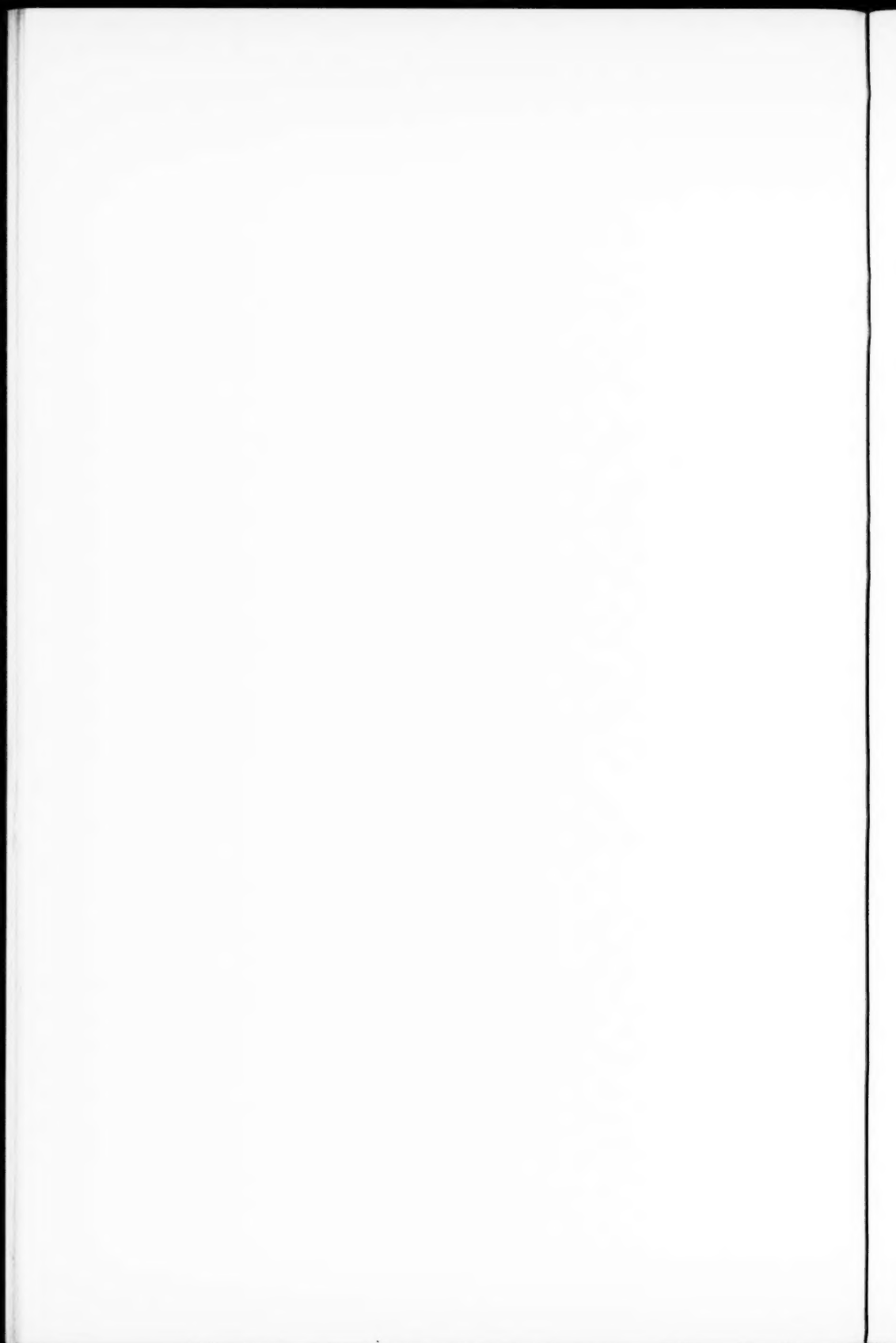
Diagnosis and prescription are difficult. What, then, of treatment? When one is reasonably sure what to do in the case of either a potential delinquent or a convicted criminal, the process of treatment on a social basis is beset by innumerable difficulties. This the layman does not know; he thinks, for example, that family relief consists of taking a basket of food to a hungry family and receiving their respectful curtsies and humble thanks.

I have in mind a case, admittedly rather an extreme one, that well illustrates the practical difficulties in adequate social treatment of delinquency. A confirmed alcoholic was committed to one of the New York City institutions by a magistrate who expressed the pious hope that we would rehabilitate him. The

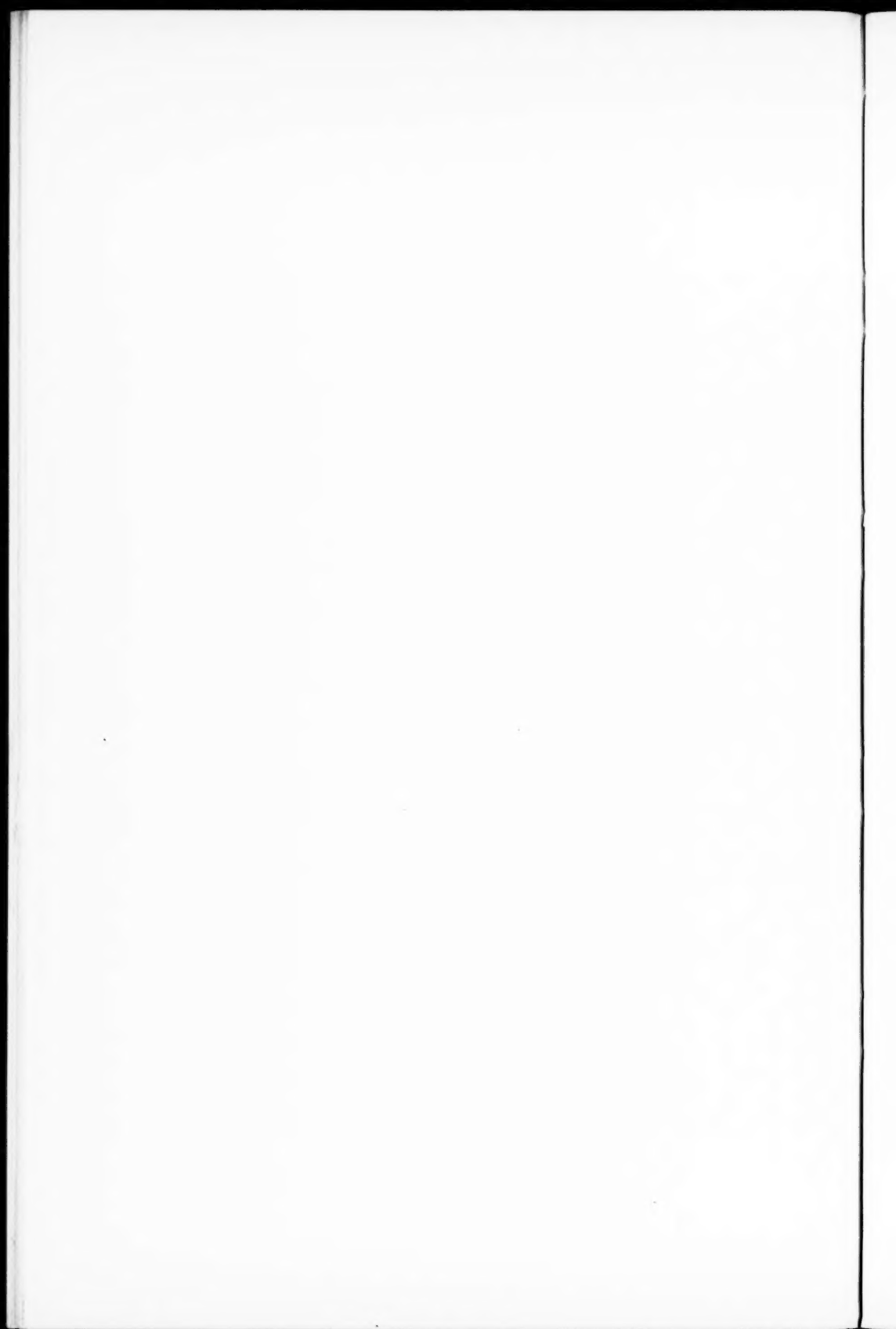
man's criminal and delinquent record extended over thirty years; his alcoholism over twenty years. Knowing that we had only the shell of a man to work on, we decided to go to work on his family. Here is what we found: a dirty three-room flat in a "cold-water" tenement; the mother a deaf mute and a confirmed alcoholic, drunk at the time of the visit, with her parents and a neighbor also present and also drunk; and seven children of varying ages but uniformly malnourished, dirty, neglected. I do not need to suggest to you how many social agencies had to be brought into the picture before even a partial solution of the problem presented by that family could be worked out, or how many private and public agencies will deal with those seven children before they have run out the life-course that is almost inevitably laid down for them by the combined forces of their heredity and their early environment.

The public little realizes what adequate treatment in even the more simple cases of potential delinquency involves: how many visits to the home, to the school, to the police, to the employers of the father and the older children, how many contacts with other social agencies, how many carbon copies of case histories perused, how many more pages compiled, how many weary subway and elevated trips taken, how many endless blocks tramped on foot, how many doors slammed in one's face, how many disappointments, how many failures, how many tragedies.

But the social worker carries on, and must carry on. The problem of crime and delinquency, whether viewed from the standpoint of prevention or of treatment, is a social problem and no other than a social approach will ever solve it. In spite of all the difficulties I have cited here and many others the job is one for social workers, that term being taken in its broadest sense. I should be proud to be listed in the ranks of the social workers. I say advisedly that I believe the fight against crime will be won eventually by those who have social consciousness, those who are socially minded, those who make the social approach to the problem. As I have often said in the past, crime will not be controlled eventually by our armed forces, but by our social forces.



PROGRAM



PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 24—Invocation. The Right Reverend Benjamin M. Washburn, D.D., Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, Newark, New Jersey.

Presidential Address: Democracy at the Crossroads. The Very Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, Executive Director, Catholic Charities, New York City, and President, National Conference of Social Work. Page 7.

Monday, May 25—Public Welfare and Politics—Edith Abbott, Dean, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 27.
The Honorable Fiorello H. La Guardia, Mayor of the City of New York, New York City.

Tuesday, May 26—International Peace and the Common Good. Parker T. Moon, Professor of International Relations, Columbia University, New York City. Page 46.

Wednesday, May 27—Annual Business Session. Open Meeting of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work.

1. The First Two International Conferences—Paris—Frankfurt.

Mary van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, and Vice-President at Paris and President at Frankfurt.

2. International Social Work Problems.

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

3. Preparations and Program for the Third International Conference, London.

Frank J. Bruno, Department of Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, and Chairman, Committee on the Third International Conference of Social Work.

4. The Prospects for Peace.

Henry Wickham Steed, Former Editor, London Times, London, England.
(By radio from London.) Page 60.

Reception to the President of the Conference.

Friday, May 29—Government and the Common Welfare. Harold W. Dodds, President, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Saturday, May 30—Luncheon.

Invocation. The Reverend Henry Merle Mellen, D.D., Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Atlantic City, New Jersey.

National Security—What Price? Solomon Lowenstein, Executive Vice-President, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, New York City.
Page 66.

SECTION MEETINGS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, May 25—The Contribution of Social Case Work to Security in Terms of Human Personality and Relationships. Frank J. Bruno, Professor of Applied Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Page 77.

Discussant: Ora Pendleton, Acting Director, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Tuesday, May 26—The Community Needs for a Comprehensive Welfare Program with Particular Stress upon the Importance of Individualization in Both Public and Private Welfare Services.

1. The Need for Individualization in All Welfare Agencies. Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Cleveland Welfare Federation, Cleveland, Ohio.
2. The Part of the Worker in the Communities' Acceptance of Social Work. Elizabeth McCord, Field Representative and District Director, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, May 27—

Group Meeting 1. The significance of standards in social case work—what they mean in terms of service to clients, the interpretation of them to communities, the use of standards as criteria of confidence. The relation of professional education to standards.

1. What Is the Purpose and Value of Professional Standards in Case Work and How Can Such Standards Be Maintained? Walter West, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 90.
2. How Is a Standard of Professional Training and Education Related to Good Professional Practice? Florence Sytz, Instructor, Tulane University, School of Social Work, New Orleans, Louisiana. Page 100.

Group Meeting 2.

1. Educational Processes in Supervision and Class Instruction. Virginia Robinson, Associate Director, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
2. The Philosophy of Supervision. Fern Lowry, Instructor, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 108.

Group Meeting 3. Professional Education and Staff Instruction.

1. Professional Education. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Professor, Public Welfare Administration, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 119.
2. Staff Instruction and Its Applicability to Relief Administration. Ethel Wannemacher, Training Supervisor, Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Group Meeting 4. The Case Worker's Problem in Interpretation. Grace Marcus, Case-Work Consultant, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 133. Discussants: Edith Holloway, Family Service Association, Washington, D.C.; Madeline U. Moore, Family Society of Queens, Jamaica, Long Island, New York.

Thursday, May 28—Contribution of Case Work to the Administration of Social Insurance.

1. A Social Worker's Analysis of Some European Experience. Hertha Kraus, Professor of Social Work, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Page 146.
2. The Rôle of External Security in the Adaptation of the Individual. Dr. Abraham Kardiner, New York City.

Discussant: Elizabeth Brockett, Case-Work Consultant, Family Service Division, Emergency Home Relief Bureau, New York City.

Business Meeting.

Friday, May 29—

Group Meeting 1. Selection of Case-Work Personnel.

1. Technique of Interviewing or Examining Applicants for Placement To Determine Reliable Evaluations of Ability and Potentialities of Case Workers. The Applicability of This Process of Selection to a Civil Service System. Pauline Miller, Director, Division of Case Supervision and Personnel, Maryland Board of State Aid and Charities, Baltimore, Maryland.
2. Selection of Applicants for Case-Work Training in Schools of Social Work. Rosemary Reynolds, Instructor, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
3. Selection of Personnel for Private Agencies. Mary Howell, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Richmond, Virginia.

Group Meeting 2.

1. Some Experiments in Case Work in Motherless Families. Lorraine Jennrich, Supervisor, Motherless Family Department, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Page 158.
 2. A Child Care Program for Hamilton County, Ohio. Ruth Jones, Director of Mothers' Pensions, County Court of Domestic Relations, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Discussant: Douglas Falconer, General Secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, New York.

Group Meeting 3. Relationship as a Tool in Supervision.

Emotional Development of the Worker under Supervision. Florence Hollis, Field Demonstrator in Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 167.

Discussants: Alice Rue, Supervisor and Director of Children's Bureau, Wilmington, Delaware; Mary Rittenhouse, Associate District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

Group Meeting 4.

1. Early Interviews as a Basis for Treatment Plans. Leah Feder, Assistant Professor of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
2. Factors in Treatment. Charlotte Towle, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 179.

Group Meeting 5. (Joint Session with the American Home Economics Association, Home Economics in Social Work Department). Family Budgets and Health Standards as a Basis of Social Treatment.

1. Our Basis for Estimating Family Budgets. Lucy H. Gillett, Director, Nutrition Bureau, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York City. Page 192.
2. Negro Health Work in a New Jersey County. Walter J. Alexander, M.D., Chairman, Negro Advisory Commission, New Jersey Tuberculosis League, Newark, New Jersey.

Discussants: Henrietta Buchman, Case Supervisor, Family Service Division, Emergency Home Relief Bureau, New York City; Isabelle K. Carter, Director, Child Welfare Division, Maryland Board of State Aid and Charities, Baltimore, Maryland.

Saturday, May 30—

1. Clinical Treatment and Social Adjustment. Marion Nicholson, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
2. Social Case Work and Social Adjustment. Florence Day, Field Secretary, Great Lakes Region, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 203.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, May 25—Modern Educational Methods in the Group-Work Agency.

1. Group Activity as an Outgrowth of Individual Interests. Joshua Lieberman, Director, Camp Robinson Crusoe, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.
2. Dramatics and Personality Growth. Charlotte Chorpennig, Director of Children's Theater, Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theater, Chicago, Illinois, and Instructor, Sociology Department, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
3. The House Council as Experience in Democracy. Samuel Levine, Executive Director, Council Educational Alliance, Cleveland, Ohio.

Tuesday, May 26—

Group Meeting 1. Recording in Group Work.

1. Methods of Record-keeping of Individual Contacts and Group Behavior. Gertrude Wilson, Field Instructor, Group Work Course, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 212.
2. Reporting the Activities of Group-Work Agencies. Frances L. Adkins, Division of Social Statistics, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 219.

Group Meeting 2. (Joint Session with the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work). The Training of Group Leaders.

1. What a Volunteer Wants in Preparation for Group Leadership. Mrs. John Dabney, Board Member, Goodrich Social Settlement, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 226.
2. Some Experiments in the Training of Group Leaders. Louis Kraft, Director, Jewish Center Activities, Jewish Welfare Board, New York City.
Agnes Leahy, Executive Secretary, Personnel Division, National Girl Scouts, New York City.
Mrs. P. H. Valentine, Executive Director, Smith Memorial Playgrounds and Playhouses, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Meeting 3 (Joint Session with the National Probation Association). Group Work and Delinquency

1. The Use of a Combined Group and Case Approach in the Treatment of Delinquency. Robert Taber, Executive Secretary, Boys' Club and Settlement Committee, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
2. An Experiment in a Neighborhood Approach to Juvenile Delinquency. Henry W. Waltz, Director of Community and Recreation Work of the Chicago Probation Project, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
3. Group Work in the Los Angeles County Co-ordinating Councils. Kenyon J. Scudder, Probation Officer, County of Los Angeles and Chairman, Executive Board, Los Angeles County Co-ordinating Councils, Los Angeles, California

The following three group discussions dealt with various aspects of the objectives of group work.

Group Discussion 4. Group-Work Objectives Relating to Individual Adjustment and Development.

Discussion leader: Clara A. Kaiser, Member of Faculty, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Group Discussion 5. Group-Work Objectives Relating to Group Development and Achievement.

Discussion leader: William H. Dewar, Program Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association of Brooklyn and Queens, New York.

Group Discussion 6. Group-Work Objectives Relating to Social Action.

Discussion leader: Lucy P. Carner, Executive, National Services Division, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Wednesday, May 27—(This session was a symposium bringing together the results of the three small groups of the previous day and of similar discussions in several communities). The Distinctive and Common Objectives in the Group-Work Field.

1. The San Francisco Discussion Group. Annie Clo Watson, Executive Secretary, International Institute, San Francisco, California.
2. The Cleveland Discussion Group. Thomas McCullough, Executive Director, Alta House, Cleveland, Ohio.
3. The New York City Discussion Group. Mary Austin, Secretary, Division of Recreation, Education, and Neighborhood Activities, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.
4. Summary of the Round-Table Discussions. William Dewar, Program Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association of Brooklyn and Queens, New York.

Business Session.

Thursday, May 28—Education for Social Participation.

1. Methods of Educating for Social Participation. Eleanor Coit, Director, Affiliated Schools for Workers, New York City.
2. The Consequences of Social Action for the Group-Work Agency. Helen Hall, Head Resident, Henry Street Settlement, New York City. Page 234.

Friday, May 29—

Group Meeting 1. The Relation of Public and Private Agencies in the Field of Group Work.

1. Developing Methods in Public Recreation. V. F. Hernlund, Supervisor, Physical Activities, Chicago Park District Administration, Chicago, Illinois.
2. The Distinctive Functions of the Private Agency. Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Associations, Chicago, Illinois.

Group Meeting 2. Problems in Group Formation.

1. The So-called "Natural Group" as the Basis of Club Organization. Paul Weinandy, Instructor of Social Sciences, College of Education, University High School, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Page 242.
2. Specialized Interest as the Basis of Group Organization. William Kolodney, Educational Director, Young Men's Hebrew Association, New York City. Page 249.

Group Meeting 3. Research in Group Work.

1. *Methods of Evaluation in Group Work.* Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Director of Field Work, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Page 254.
2. *Group-Work Evaluation in Terms of the Individual.* S. R. Slawson, Director of Re-education, Jewish Board of Guardians, Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School, Hawthorne, New York.

Group Meeting 4 (Joint Session with the Social Work Publicity Council). Interpreting Group-Work Agencies to the Public.

1. *Essentials in a Year-Round Program of Interpretation.* Eleanor Eells, Head Resident, Association House, Chicago, Illinois.
2. *What Character-building Agencies Wish To Have Interpreted to the Public in 1936.* Arthur A. Schuck, Director, Division of Operations, Boy Scouts of America, New York City.

Group Meeting 5. The Training of the Professional Group Worker.

1. *Procedures for Training of Prospective Supervisors in Group Work.* Charles Hendry, Associate Professor of Sociology, George Williams College, Chicago, Illinois.
2. *The Education of Supervisors on the Job.* J. Stewart Burgess, Professor of Sociology, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Meeting 6. Panel Discussion. The Relation of the Group Leader to the Individual Member.

Panel Participants: Opal Boynton, Director of Activities Division, Central Branch, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City; Florence Day, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City; Bertha Reynolds, Associate Director, Smith College School of Social Work, Northampton, Massachusetts; Tracy W. Redding, Boys' Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, New Haven, Connecticut; Robert Taber, Executive Secretary, Boys' Club and Settlement Committee, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Edward Wolf, Director, Boys' and Men's Activities, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association, Washington Heights, New York.

Group Meeting 7. The Educational Program of the C.C.C. Camps.

1. *Objectives of the C.C.C. Educational Program.* Howard W. Oxley, Director of C.C.C. Camp Education, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Page 261.
2. *Education and the C.C.C.* Kenneth Holland, Associate Director, American Youth Commission, Washington, D.C.

Saturday, May 30—Youth Programs—Under What Auspices.

1. *Governments in Their Relation to Youth.* Mark McCloskey New York State Director, National Youth Administration, New York City.
2. *Youth Speaks for Itself. The Significance of the American Youth Congress.* Joseph Lash, Executive Council, American Youth Congress, and National Executive Secretary, American Student Union, New York City.
3. *The Place of the Private Group-Work Agency in the Program of Youth.* Lucy Carner, Executive, National Services Division, National Board, Young Women's Christian Associations, New York City. Page 270.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, May 25—Putting the Social Security Act into Effect.

1. Present Extent of State Participation under the Act. Joel D. Hunter, General Superintendent, United Charities, Chicago, Illinois.
2. Administrative Functions and Policies of Federal Agencies Administering the Social Security Act. Frank Bane, Executive Director, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.
3. Problems Confronting State Welfare Administrations in Accepting Grants-in-Aid. Harry Greenstein, Executive Director, Associated Jewish Charities, Baltimore, Maryland. Page 277.
4. The Concern of the Local Community in State Participation. Wilfred S. Reynolds, Director, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois.

Tuesday, May 26—

Group Meeting 1 (Joint Session with the Social Work Publicity Council). The Interpretation of Social Case Work.

1. Is Public Understanding of Social Case Work Increasing? Hilary Campbell, Editor, *News Bulletin*, Social Work Publicity Council, New York City.
2. Public Confidence in Social Case Work as a Goal. Arch Mandel, Executive Secretary, Bureau of Community Service, Dayton, Ohio.

Group Meeting 2 (Joint Session with the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work). Lay Participation in Social Planning.

1. The Junior League's Part in Social Planning. Mrs. Herbert Spencer, Chairman, Planning Committee, Erie County Community Chest, Erie, Pennsylvania. Page 284.
2. From the Standpoint of the Layman. Gertrude Taggart, Member, Board of Directors of Community Fund and Executive Committee of Council of Social Agencies, Indianapolis, Indiana.
3. Sharing Responsibility in Social Planning. Leroy A. Ramsdell, Secretary Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Hartford, Connecticut.

Group Meeting 3 (Joint Session with the Community Chests and Councils, Social Service Exchange Committee). The Social Service Index in the Future Community Organization Picture. Jane M. Hoey, Director, Division of Grants-in-Aid, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Pray, Professor of Social Planning and Administration, University of Pennsylvania, and Secretary, Pennsylvania Commission on Public Assistance and Relief, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Meeting 4 (Joint Session with the Committee on Care of Transients and Homeless and the National Association for Travelers' Aid and Transient Service). Methods and Responsibilities for Co-ordinating Local, State, and National Programs for Transients. Homer W. Borst, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, New Haven, Connecticut.

Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 291.

Discussant: George Rabinoff, Associate Director, National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.

Group Meeting 5 (Joint Session with the American Association of Medical Social Workers). The Growing Edge of Medical Service. Roscoe R. Spencer, M.D., United States Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: M. Antoinette Cannon, Faculty, New York School of Social Work, New York City; C. W. Munger, M.D., Director, Grasslands Hospital, Valhalla, New York; Gordon Hamilton, Director of Social Service, State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York City.

Wednesday, May 27—Fact-finding and Local Community Organization: New Facts and New Significances.

1. What Do We Need to Know Now? Shelby M. Harrison, General Director, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.
2. How Can We Make Most Effective Use of What We Know? Linn Brandenburg, Director, Bureau of Statistics and Research, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois. Page 299.
3. How Can We Finance an Adequate Program of Local Fact-finding? Harry M. Carey, Executive Secretary, Providence Community Fund, Providence, Rhode Island. Page 306.

Business Session.

Thursday, May 28—The Areas of Responsibility of Voluntary Social Work during the Period of Changing Local and National Governmental Programs. Neva R. Dear-dorff, Director of Research, Welfare Council, New York City. Page 312.

I. M. Rubinow, National Director, Independent Order B'nai B'rith, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Discussants: Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Friday, May 29—Federal, State, and Local Organization of Tax-supported Social Work. Mary Irene Atkinson, Director, Child Welfare Division, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Robert T. Lansdale, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. Page 324.

Saturday, May 30—The Neighborhood Approach in Community Organization.

1. Community Elements in Census-Tract Neighborhoods. Howard W. Green, Secretary, Health Council, Cleveland, Ohio.
2. The Organization of Communal Neighborhoods. Arthur A. Guild, Director, Richmond Community Fund, Richmond, Virginia.

Discussion leader: Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Associations, Chicago, Illinois.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, May 25—The program of this section this year was: "Social Action and Recovery: The Aftermath of Depression." Theoretical Analysis of Causes of Economic Distress.

1. Economic and Industrial Causes. Karl Pribram, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Page 334.
2. Social and Personal Causes. Ewan Clague, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Tuesday, May 26—Panel Discussion. Social Values of National Labor Boards.

The Reverend Frederick Siedenburg, Executive Dean, University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan. Page 346.

Panel Participants: John A. Lapp, Petroleum Board, Washington, D.C.; The Reverend P. H. Burkett, S.J., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Cecile Whalen, Case Supervisor, Department of Public Welfare, Detroit, Michigan; James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City.

Wednesday, May 27—What of the Minimum Wage?

1. Theory and Practice in Minimum-Wage Policies. Elmo P. Hohman, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Page 356.

2. Minimum Wage: The Home Worker and the Union Worker. Dorothy Sells, National Resources Committee, Washington, D.C. Page 365.

Business Session.

Thursday, May 28—Stimulating Employment.

1. Stimulation of Industry and the Significance of Hours and Wages. Emil Lederer, New School for Social Research, New York City. Page 375.

2. Increasing Consumer Demand. Clark Warburton, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Washington, D.C. Page 382.

Friday, May 29—Social Significance of the Social Security Act.

1. Objectives and Social Effects of the Public Assistance and Old Age Provisions. Frederick Dewhurst and Margaret Grant Schneider, Committee on Social Security, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. Page 392.

2. Unemployment Compensation and Its Unsolved Economic and Social Problems. Joseph P. Harris, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. Page 404.

Saturday, May 30—Utilizing American Political Machinery To Secure Social Action.

1. Technique of Utilizing American Political Machinery To Secure Social Action. Dorothy Kenyon, Deputy Commissioner of Licenses, New York City. Page 412.

2. The Contribution of Social Workers to the Present Federal Administration. Grace Abbott, Professor of Public Welfare Administration, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Thursday, May 28—The Government Indian Day School as a Community Center.

1. Education for the Whole Community. Willard W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

2. Among the Navajos. Chester E. Faris, Field Representative, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

3. In the Sioux Country. Joe Jennings, Superintendent of Indian Schools in South Dakota, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

4. The Task of the Social Worker. May Bratton, Social Worker, Winnebago Indian Agency, Winnebago, Nebraska.

5. Dakota Indian Schools. Gladys Tantaquidgeon, Indian Assistant Social Worker, Rosebud Indian Agency, Rosebud, South Dakota.

Friday, May 29—The Indian Community.

1. Co-operation for Economic Development. E. R. Bowen, General Secretary, Co-operative League, New York City.
2. Achieving Social Control in the Indian Community. Ray A. Brown, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

THE CURRENT RELIEF SITUATION

Thursday, May 28—The Present Status of Public Relief in the United States. Josephine Brown, Assistant Administrator, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 423.

Jacob Fisher, Chairman National Co-ordinating Committee of Social Service Employee Groups, New York City. Page 434.

Walter West, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 439.

Friday, May 29—The Problem and Policy of W.P.A. Interpretation. Aubrey Williams, Deputy Administrator, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 443.

Discussant: Helen Cody Baker, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois.
Seward C. Simons, Pasadena, California.

Saturday, May 30—Employment Planning. Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, the *Survey*, New York City. Page 454.

INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT AND AFTER-CARE OF THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT

Thursday, May 28—An Examination of Aims Underlying the Re-direction of the Individual Delinquent.

The Institution as an Interlude in Community Adjustment of Problem and Delinquent Children. Calvin Derrick, Superintendent, State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, New Jersey. Page 470

Discussants: Leon C. Faulkner, Managing Director, The Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York; John L. Montgomery, Executive Secretary, The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, Red Bank, New Jersey; Emily F. Morrison, Superintendent, Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Delaware County, Pennsylvania; James S. Owens, Superintendent, State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, New York.

Friday, May 29—An Evaluation of Newer Trends in Institutional and After-Care, Treatment of Delinquents.

1. Some Newer Aspects of Institutional Care in a Community Program of Delinquency Prevention and Treatment. Harrison Allen Dobbs, Associate Professor of Social Economy, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 481.
2. The Relationship between the Institutional Program and After-Care. Herbert D. Williams, Superintendent, New York Training School for Boys, State School, Orange County, New York.

Discussants: John Slawson, Executive Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City; Caroline deFord Penniman, Superintendent, Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; H. V. Bastin, Superintendent, Ormsby Village, Anchorage, Kentucky.

PUBLIC WELFARE PERSONNEL

(All sessions joint with the American Public Welfare Association.)

The entire program of the Committee on Public Welfare Personnel was directed toward an understanding of the problems involved in the selection and management of personnel, administrative and technical, in the field of public welfare.

Tuesday, May 26.—Administrative Personnel in the Field of Public Welfare.

1. How May Administrative Skill Combined with Professional Competence Be Secured for State and Local Public Welfare Service? Grace Abbott, Professor of Public Welfare Administration, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 494.
2. Discussion from the Point of View of the Civil Service. Lyle Belsley, Director, Civil Service Assembly of the United States, Washington, D.C.
3. Discussion from the Point of View of the Country at Large. Fred Hoehler, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois.

Thursday, May 28—(Joint Session with the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work; see their program.) Citizens' Boards in Relation to Public Welfare Administration.

Friday, May 29—Public Welfare Personnel.

1. Public Welfare Administration and the Skills It Demands. William J. Ellis, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey. Page 509.
2. Discussion from the Point of View of the Civil Service Executive. Charles P. Messick, Secretary and Chief Examiner, Civil Service Commission of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey. Page 519.
3. Discussion from the Point of View of the Case Worker. Esther Lazarus, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Baltimore, Maryland.

Saturday, May 30—Public Welfare Personnel.

1. Lessons Learned in the Application of the Merit System to Public Welfare Administrative Units. Harrison Allen Dobbs, Associate Professor of Social Work, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 526.
2. Lessons Learned in Personnel Selection and Management in Emergency Relief Administration. Marjorie Anne Merrill, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. Page 538.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

Monday, May 25—Vocational Guidance and Training as Part of an Institution's Responsibilities. Roy McLaughlin, Superintendent, Connecticut School for Boys, Meriden, Connecticut.

Discussion leader: Betty Hawley, Vice-President, New York State Division, American Federation of Labor, New York City.

Wednesday, May 27—Co-ordination of Institutional Care with Other Services, Especially Foster Care in Family Homes. Page 548. Sybil Foster, Field Secretary, Child Welfare League of America, New York City.

Discussion leader: Florence M. Mason, Assistant Director, Catholic Charities, Cleveland Ohio.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

Monday, May 25—Community Environment in the New Housing.

1. Does the Small Town Provide a Desirable Standard of Normal Community Life? Clarence A. Perry, Associate Director, Recreation Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.
2. How Can Normal Community Life Be Developed in the New Housing? Abraham Goldfeld, Executive Director, Fred L. Lavanburg Foundation, New York City.

Tuesday, May 26—Health and the New Housing.

1. A Co-operative Health Program for a Large-Scale Urban Low-Cost Housing Project. May Lumsden, Manager, "First Houses," New York City. Page 562.
2. Health Benefits from Better Housing. Haven Emerson, M.D., Institute of Public Health, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City. Page 569.

THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF CRIME

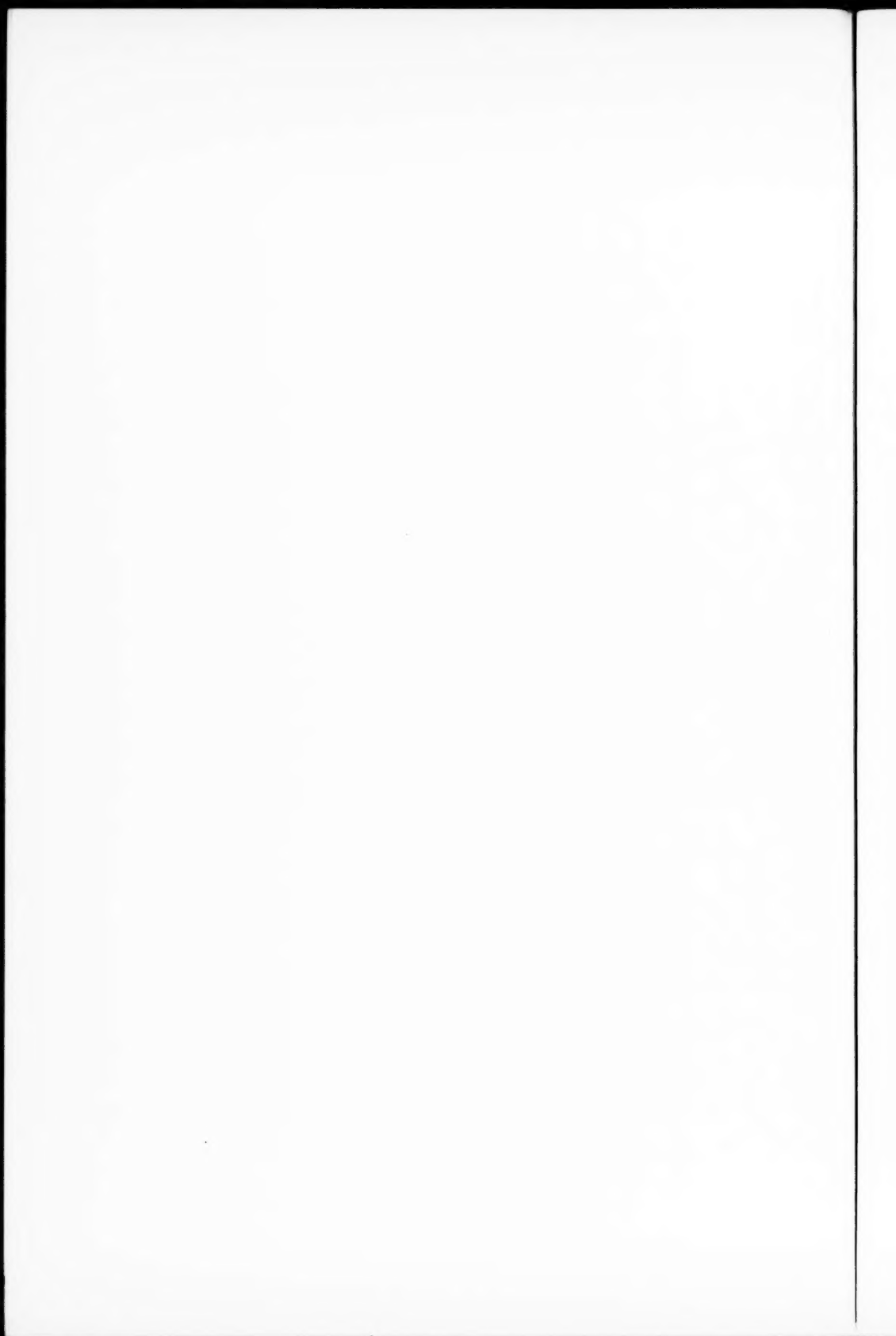
Monday, May 25—(Joint Session with the National Probation Association.) Social-Work Basis for Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency and Crime.

1. Community Factors. Louise McGuire, Director of Social Service, Juvenile Court of District of Columbia, Washington, D.C. Page 579.
2. Individual Factors. John Slawson, Executive Secretary, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. Page 590.

Tuesday, May 26—(Joint Session with the National Probation Association.)

1. Practical Difficulties in Social Approach to Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency and Crime. Austin McCormick, Commissioner, Department of Correction New York City. Page 600.
2. Legislation, Organization and Administration, Personnel, Appropriations, Directing and Sustaining Public Interest.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



PART I

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1936

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Ex officio: Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1936*: Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City. *Term expiring 1937*: Fred Johnson, Detroit; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati. *Term expiring 1938*: Maurice Taylor, Boston; Elizabeth H. Webster, Chicago. *Section Chairmen*: Ruth Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City; Leifur Magnusson, Washington, D.C.

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COMMITTEE ON THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

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ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Ruth Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.

Vice-Chairman: William H. Savin, Washington, D.C.

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Ruth Blakeslee.....	Washington, D.C.	Mrs. Audre McCullough....	Minneapolis
Rachael Childrey.....	Philadelphia	J. Prentice Murphy.....	Philadelphia
Ruth Jones.....	Cincinnati		

TERM EXPIRES 1937

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Harriet Bartlett.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Charlotte Towle.....	Chicago
Anna S. Kempshall.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

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Florence R. Day.....	Cleveland	Anna D. Ward.....	Baltimore
Elizabeth H. Dexter.....	New York City		

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland

Vice-Chairman: Helen Hall, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1936

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Neva L. Boyd.....	Evanston, Ill.	Roy Sorenson.....	Chicago
Spencer Miller, Jr.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Frankie Adams.....	Atlanta	Paul Furfey.....	Washington, D.C.
Howard S. Braucher.....	New York City	Robert Polson.....	Ithaca, N.Y.
Eleanor Coit.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Henry M. Busch.....	Cleveland	W. I. Newstetter.....	Cleveland
Hedley S. Dimock.....	Chicago	Margaret Williamson.....	New York City
Bessie A. McClenahan.....	Los Angeles		

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Charles C. Stillman, Columbus

TERM EXPIRES 1936

David C. Adie.....	Albany, N.Y.	Rev. L. L. Lauerman.....	Portland, Ore.
Ira V. Hiscock.....	New Haven, Conn.	Solomon Lowenstein.....	New York City
Ralph G. Hurlin.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Pierce Atwater.....	St. Paul	Shelby M. Harrison.....	New York City
Frank Bane.....	Chicago	Gay B. Shepperson.....	Atlanta
Samuel A. Goldsmith.....	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Richard K. Conant.....	Boston	John F. Hall.....	Seattle
Helen M. Currier.....	Dayton, Ohio	Florence L. Sullivan.....	Phoenix, Ariz.
Kathryn D. Goodwin.....	Madison, Wis.		

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Leifur Magnusson, Washington, D.C.

Vice-Chairman: Josephine Roche, Washington, D.C.

TERM EXPIRES 1936

John B. Andrews.....	New York City	I. M. Rubinow.....	Cincinnati
Michael M. Davis.....	Chicago	Linton B. Swift.....	New York City
Freda Romalis.....	St. Louis, Mo.		

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Ernest Draper.....	New York City	E. B. Shultz.....	Knoxville, Tenn.
T. Arnold Hill.....	New York City	Mary van Kleeck.....	New York City
Edwin S. Smith.....	Washington, D.C.		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

John B. Andrews.....	New York City	Abraham Epstein.....	New York City
J. P. Chamberlain.....	New York City	Rev. Francis J. Haas..	Washington, D.C.
Michael M. Davis.....	Chicago		

PART II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1937

OFFICERS

President, Edith Abbott, Chicago
First Vice-President, Solomon Lowenstein, New York City
Second Vice-President, T. Arnold Hill, New York City
Third Vice-President, Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, New Jersey
Treasurer, Arch Mandel, Dayton, Ohio
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Edith Abbott, President; Solomon Lowenstein, First Vice-President; T. Arnold Hill, Second Vice-President; Ellen C. Potter, Third Vice-President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1937*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D.C.; Stanley P. Davies, New York City; Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago; John F. Hall, Seattle; Kate McMahon, Boston. *Term expiring 1938*: Frank Bane, Washington, D.C.; Howard S. Braucher, New York City; Josephine C. Brown, Washington, D.C.; Michael M. Davis, Chicago; Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; Elwood Street, Washington, D.C.; Walter West, New York City. *Term expiring 1939*: Paul Kellogg, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; Rose J. McHugh, Albany, New York; W. I. Newstetter, Cleveland; Bertha Reynolds, Northampton, Massachusetts; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Edith Abbott, Chicago; Very Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1937*: Fred R. Johnson, Detroit; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati. *Term expiring 1938*: Maurice Taylor, Pittsburgh; Elizabeth H. Webster, Chicago. *Term expiring 1939*: Elinor Hixenbaugh, Columbus, Ohio; Robert T. Lansdale, Washington, D.C. *Section Chairmen*: William H. Savin, Washington, D.C.; J. Edward Sproul, New York City; Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, New Jersey; I. M. Rubinow, Cincinnati.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Neva R. Deardorff, New York City, Chairman; Ada M. Barker, Atlanta; Martha A. Chickering, Berkeley, California; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Joseph Moss, Evanston, Illinois; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Missouri; Rev. Frederick Siedenberg, Detroit; Florence Sytz, New Orleans; Agnes Van Driel, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Pierce Atwater, St. Paul, Chairman; Anita J. Faatz, Baltimore; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia, Chairman; David C. Adie, Albany, New York; H. V. Bastin, Anchorage, Kentucky; Sanford Bates, Washington, D.C.; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D.C.; William W. Burke, St. Louis, Missouri; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; Virginia C. Frank, Chicago; Charles F. Hall, St. Paul; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; Louis W. Horne, Lincoln, Nebraska; Ora Pendleton, Philadelphia; Emma C. Puschner, Indianapolis; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; James Hoge Ricks, Richmond, Virginia; Jean Sinnock, Denver; Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh; Ina T. Tyler, Des Moines; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: William H. Savin, Washington, D.C.

Vice-Chairman: C. W. Areson, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Herschel Alt.....	St. Louis, Mo.	Edward D. Lynde.....	Cleveland
Harriett M. Bartlett..	Cambridge, Mass.	Charlotte Towle.....	Chicago
Anna S. Kempshall.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

C. W. Areson.....	New York City	Mary A. Howell.....	Richmond, Va.
Florence R. Day.....	Cleveland	Anna D. Ward.....	Baltimore
Elizabeth H. Dexter....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Margaret Barbee.....	Baltimore	Frederick Moran.....	Albany, N.Y.
Elizabeth Bissell.....	Boston	Marian Y. Frost.....	Richmond, Va.
Dorothy Hutchinson....	New York City		

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: J. Edward Sproul, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Clara A. Kaiser, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Frankie V. Adams.....	Atlanta	Paul Furfey.....	Washington, D.C.
Howard S. Braucher....	New York City	Robert A. Polson.....	Ithaca, N.Y.
Eleanor Coit.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Henry M. Busch.....	Cleveland	W. I. Newstetter.....	Cleveland
Hedley S. Dimock.....	Chicago	Margaret Williamson....	New York City
Bessie A. McClenahan....	Los Angeles		

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Grace L. Coyle.....	Cleveland	Lillie M. Peck.....	New York City
Tam Deering.....	Cincinnati	Leroy A. Ramsdell.....	Hartford, Conn.
Lee F. Hanmer.....	New York City		

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Ellen C. Potter, Trenton, New Jersey*Vice-Chairman:* Rose J. McHugh, Albany, New York

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Pierce Atwater.....	St. Paul	Shelby M. Harrison.....	New York City
Frank Bane.....	Washington, D.C.	Gay B. Shepperson.....	Atlanta
Samuel A. Goldsmith.....	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Richard K. Conant.....	Boston	John F. Hall.....	Seattle
Helen M. Currier.....	Minneapolis	Florence L. Sullivan.....	Washington, D.C.
Kathryn D. Goodwin.....	Madison, Wis.		

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Bradley Buell.....	New York City	Emma O. Lundburg.....	Washington, D.C.
Louise Cottrell.....	Portland, Ore.	Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady	
Roy M. Cushman.....	Boston	Washington, D.C.	

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: I. M. Rubinow, Cincinnati*Vice-Chairman:* Mary Anderson, Washington, D.C.

TERM EXPIRES 1937

Ernest Draper.....	New York City	Edwin S. Smith.....	Washington, D.C.
T. Arnold Hill.....	New York City	Mary van Kleeck.....	New York City
E. B. Shultz.....	Knoxville, Tenn.		

TERM EXPIRES 1938

John B. Andrews.....	New York City	Abraham Epstein.....	New York City
J. P. Chamberlain.....	New York City	Rev. Francis J. Haas.....	St. Francis, Wis.
Michael M. Davis.....	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1939

George E. Bigge.....	Providence	Harry L. Lurie.....	New York City
John S. Bradway.....	Durham, N.C.	Aubrey Williams.....	Washington, D.C.
John A. Kingsbury.....	Yonkers, N.Y.		

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE MINUTES

Monday, May 25, 1936, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary announced the following committees appointed by the President: Committee on Elections: Owen R. Lovejoy, District of Columbia, Chairman; Maud Bryan Foote, New Jersey; Wendell F. Johnson, Ohio; Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Pennsylvania; Emil Steger, Missouri.

Committee on Tellers: Ralph G. Hurlin, New York, Chairman; Helen Eastman, Nebraska; Ralph Tracy, New York.

In each case the Committee has power to add to its number as needed.

Official notice was given that the polls would be open for election at the registration desk at Conference headquarters on Wednesday, May 27, from 9:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M., and on Thursday, May 28, from 8:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Wednesday, May 27, 1936, 11:00 A.M.—Annual Business Meeting

Approximately three hundred members of the Conference entitled to vote were present and at least as many more who had not yet established their right to vote but were interested in the discussion, making a total attendance of six to seven hundred. The Treasurer presented his report of the financial condition of the Conference as of April 30, 1936. He explained that any report given at this time was of necessity an interim report. The financial statements are as follows: the first, headed, "Financial Statement" is an accounting of all monies received and expended during the first four months of the fiscal year. The second statement, marked "Budget Statement" shows all income and expenditures of 1936 business as related to the 1936 budget adopted by the Executive Committee. The Treasurer stated that the Conference was in a sound financial position, but would continue to need the same hearty and loyal co-operation of Conference members if it were to maintain that position.

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK FINANCIAL STATEMENT

ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

(January 1—April 30, 1936)

Operating balance, January 1..... \$ 1,011.83

Receipts:

Memberships.....	\$16,699.45
(N.J. memberships included, \$467.00)	
Contributions.....	187.00
Sales, <i>Bulletin</i>	11.95
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i>	42.80
Refunds.....	47.00
Miscellaneous.....	51.35

Total..... 17,039.55

Total receipts and balance..... \$18,051.38

Expenditures:*

Salaries.....	\$ 9,123.51
Travel.....	2,679.46
Printing.....	2,429.48
Postage.....	1,061.70
Supplies.....	464.92
Telephone and telegraph.....	265.40
Rent.....	320.00
Equipment and repairs.....	311.87
Miscellaneous.....	251.04
Refunds.....	77.79

Total..... \$16,985.17

Balance..... \$ 1,066.21

* Functional distribution of expenditures:

Administration.....	\$ 6,105.47
Membership and publicity.....	2,250.35
Annual meeting.....	1,948.80
<i>Proceedings</i>
<i>Bulletin</i>	1,362.53
Office operation.....	5,155.57
Other.....	162.45

Total..... \$16,985.17

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

(April 30, 1936)

	Budget 1936	Actual 1936	Budget Balance
<i>Income:</i>			
Memberships.....	\$45,300.00	\$15,899.45	\$29,400.55
Guaranties.....	2,000.00	125.00	1,875.00
Registrations.....			
Miscellaneous.....	1,500.00	340.10	1,159.90
Total.....	\$48,800.00	\$16,364.55	\$32,435.45
<i>Expenditures:</i>			
Salaries.....	\$25,125.00	\$ 9,283.51	\$15,841.49
Travel.....	5,500.00	2,779.46	2,720.54
Printing.....	8,500.00	2,429.48	6,070.52
Postage.....	3,000.00	1,061.70	1,938.30
Supplies.....	1,000.00	464.92	535.08
Telephone and telegraph.....	500.00	265.40	234.60
Rent.....	960.00	320.00	640.00
Equipment and repairs.....	500.00	311.87	188.13
Miscellaneous.....	500.00	251.04	248.96
Refunds.....		77.79	77.79
Total.....	\$45,585.00	\$17,245.17	\$28,339.83
General administration.....	\$14,300.00	\$ 6,105.47	\$ 8,194.53
Membership and publicity.....	3,725.00	2,250.35	1,474.65
Annual meeting.....	3,700.00	2,048.80	1,651.20
Proceedings and Index.....	5,300.00		5,300.00
Bulletin.....	3,500.00	1,362.53	2,137.47
Office operation.....	14,560.00	5,315.57	9,244.43
Other.....	500.00	162.45	337.55
Total.....	\$45,585.00	\$17,245.17	\$28,339.83

After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

Mr. Frank J. Bruno, Chairman of the Committee on the Third International Conference of Social Work, reported briefly and informally concerning the plans for the Third International Conference of Social Work to be held in London in July and the activities of the United States Committee, which is a committee of the National Conference of Social Work in securing memberships as our share in the financial support of the International Conference and in participation in the program of the meeting in London. Four hundred and fifteen memberships have been secured, and there is every prospect that there will be enough delegates from the United States at London who will not pay their membership fees until they arrive there to reach the full figure of five

hundred memberships which has been the goal of the Committee.¹ One hundred and twenty persons from the United States are registered for the Summer School which will precede the International Conference of Social Work, this being the full quota allowed for delegates from the United States. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Committee on the Third International Conference of Social Work.

The Secretary read the proposed amendment to the By-Laws of the Constitution having to do with the abolishing of the so-called Hare method of voting and counting the ballots for the election of the officers of the Conference as it had been published in the April Conference *Bulletin*. After discussion and after motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to omit from Paragraph 9 of Section 13 the last two sentences and to substitute therefore the sentence, "Election shall be by majority vote of ballots cast," and also to omit Paragraph 7 of Section 13. The By-Laws as revised are published in full in the back of this volume.

Mr. Robert Kelso, Chairman of a special Committee appointed by the Executive Committee to study and make recommendations, if desired, for changes in the amending section of the Constitution of the Conference reported the work of his Committee and recommended that the section on amendments of the Constitution be amended as follows: that the phrase "and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon," shall be revised to read as follows: "This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon." This recommendation has been unanimously approved by the Executive Committee. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to amend the section of the Constitution entitled "Amendments" so as to read as follows: "This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon."

The report of the Committee on Time and Place being called for, Mr. Peter Kasius, Chairman of the Committee, reported that after due consideration of a number of invitations, the Committee unanimously recommended that the 1938 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work be held in Seattle,

¹ At the close of the International Conference in London more than five hundred memberships had been secured.

Washington, sometime between the 15 and 30 of June, 1938. This recommendation has the approval of the Executive Committee. After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the 1938 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work be held in Seattle, Washington, between June 15 and 30, 1938.

Mr. Feinberg of Detroit was recognized by the President and presented the following resolution: "I move that admission to all General Sessions, Section and Associate and Special Group meetings of the National Conference of Social Work be granted only to registered members of the National Conference of Social Work." After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was referred to the Executive Committee for their consideration.

Mr. Jacob Fisher of New York City, being recognized by the Chair, stated that the group which he represented felt the compulsory registration before attendance at meetings of the Conference should be given further consideration by the Executive Committee. After discussion during which several alternate suggestions were made and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to refer this matter to the Executive Committee for consideration.

There being no further business and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, May 29, 1936, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Tellers being called for, the Chairman, Mr. Ralph G. Hurlin, New York, presented the following report:

The following officers were elected: President: Edith Abbott; First Vice-President: Solomon Lowenstein; Second Vice-President: T. Arnold Hill; Third Vice-President: Ellen C. Potter.

Those candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Paul Kellogg, Katharine F. Lenroot, Solomon Lowenstein, Rose J. McHugh, W. I. Newstetter, Bertha C. Reynolds, Elizabeth Wisner.

Respectfully submitted,

RALPH G. HURLIN, *Chairman*
Committee on Tellers

The report of the Committee on Nominations for election at the annual meeting of 1937 being called for, Miss Helen Crosby, Acting Chairman, presented the following report:

The Nominating Committee has worked under a great handicap in preparing their slate because of the illness of the Chairman, Percival Dodge, of Detroit. He had to withdraw from the Committee about a month ago.

The rest have taken the suggestions which were sent from Conference members and have tried to represent the various interests in social work and the different sections of the country. This slate, you recall, is to be voted on by the members this coming year for election at Indianapolis.

Our responsibility is to present candidates for President and three Vice-Presidents

to serve one year and for seven members of the Executive Committee to serve for three years.

We have followed the custom of recent years—of offering only one candidate for the four officers and fourteen candidates for the seven Committee members. I present for the consideration of the Conference this slate from the Committee on Nominations:

President: Solomon Lowenstein, Executive Vice-President, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, New York City; *First Vice President:* Grace L. Coyle, Assistant Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; *Second Vice-President:* Forrester B. Washington, Director, Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta; *Third Vice-President:* Ruth Fitzsimons, Assistant Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Olympia, Washington.

For the the Executive Committee: Herschel Alt, General Secretary, St. Louis Children's Aid Society, St. Louis, Missouri; Nell Findley, Executive Secretary, Social Service Bureau, Honolulu, Hawaii; David H. Holbrook, Secretary, National Social Work Council, New York City; Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Director, Department of Social Work, University of Denver, Denver; Fred R. Johnson, General Secretary, Michigan Children's Aid Society, Detroit; Betsey Libbey, General Secretary, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia; Bertha McCall, General Director, National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, New York City; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, Director, Division of Children, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York City; Frederick Moran, Executive Director, Division of Parole, State of New York, Albany, New York; B. M. Selekman, Executive Director, Associated Jewish Philanthropies, Boston; Gay B. Shepperson, Works Progress Administration, Atlanta; Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Associations, Chicago; George S. Stevenson, Director, Division on Community Clinics, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City; Alfred F. Whitman, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Association, Boston.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN CROSBY, *Acting Chairman*
Committee on Nominations

Saturday, May 30, 1936, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions being called for, Miss Mary L. Gibbons, Chairman, presented the following resolutions:

In this, the closing session of the Sixty-third Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, we wish to record the loss to the Conference and to social work in the passing of J. Prentice Murphy who, had he lived, would have been elected President for the succeeding year. Mr. Murphy's life-long contribution to social work needs no eulogy from us, his friends. All that we can do is to express our sorrow for his passing, and extend to his family our most heartfelt sympathy.

On this occasion we also wish to record our appreciation for the splendid facilities afforded the Conference by Atlantic City; the cordial co-operation of the hotels in the housing of our delegates; for the efficient assistance of the Convention Bureau, and particularly of the services of Mr. Skean and Mrs. Adams, the two executives, and their associates who have given untiringly of their efforts that our meeting might be a success; for the magnificent auditorium and its capable staff—all of which have helped to make this, our Sixty-third Annual Meeting a notable success.

We are grateful to the local press and to the national press associations as well as to many metropolitan daily newspapers for the splendid reports they have given of the sessions of the Conference.

We are highly honored by the message of greeting sent us by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and thank him for his expression of interest in both the Conference and the work for which the Conference stands.

On this, their tenth anniversary of service, we wish to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to Howard Knight, our genial and capable Secretary, and to his assistant, Jane Chandler, for their devotion and loyalty to the cause of social work as expressed in their efficient management of this Conference.

We cannot let this occasion pass without congratulating ourselves upon the dynamic and inspiring leadership given to the Conference by our President, the Very Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan. The past year has been one with more than the usual number of difficulties, but through it all Monsignor Keegan has manifested fairness, courage, and a far-seeing wisdom. To him and his associates on the Program Committee we owe a great debt for the fine programs of the Sections and Special Committees which to a large extent were responsible for the record-breaking attendance.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY L. GIBBONS, *Chairman*

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted to adopt the report of the Committee.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-third Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 6,673, although the attendance was approximately 9,000.

At the close of the meeting the Conference adjourned to reassemble in Indianapolis, Indiana, May 23-29, 1937.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *Secretary*

PART IV

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer ex-officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Com-

mittee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio Chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this Committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution in-

volving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Section, Special Topic, and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Section and Special Topic Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Section and Special Topic Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference Topic Committees. Where such commitments are made for Section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Section involved or with its hearty co-operation and consent, and for not more than one-third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such Committees on Special Topics as may be desirable. When establishing such Committees on Special Topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting and so forth as may be desirable.

5. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other Sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All Sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or Section committee members should so far as possible be members of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one Section Committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on Section Committees.

d) Each other Section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Section and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice-chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Execu-

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

tive Committee of the Conference. The Chairman may be re-elected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Section Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The Chairmen of Sections shall preside at the meetings of their Sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating

Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

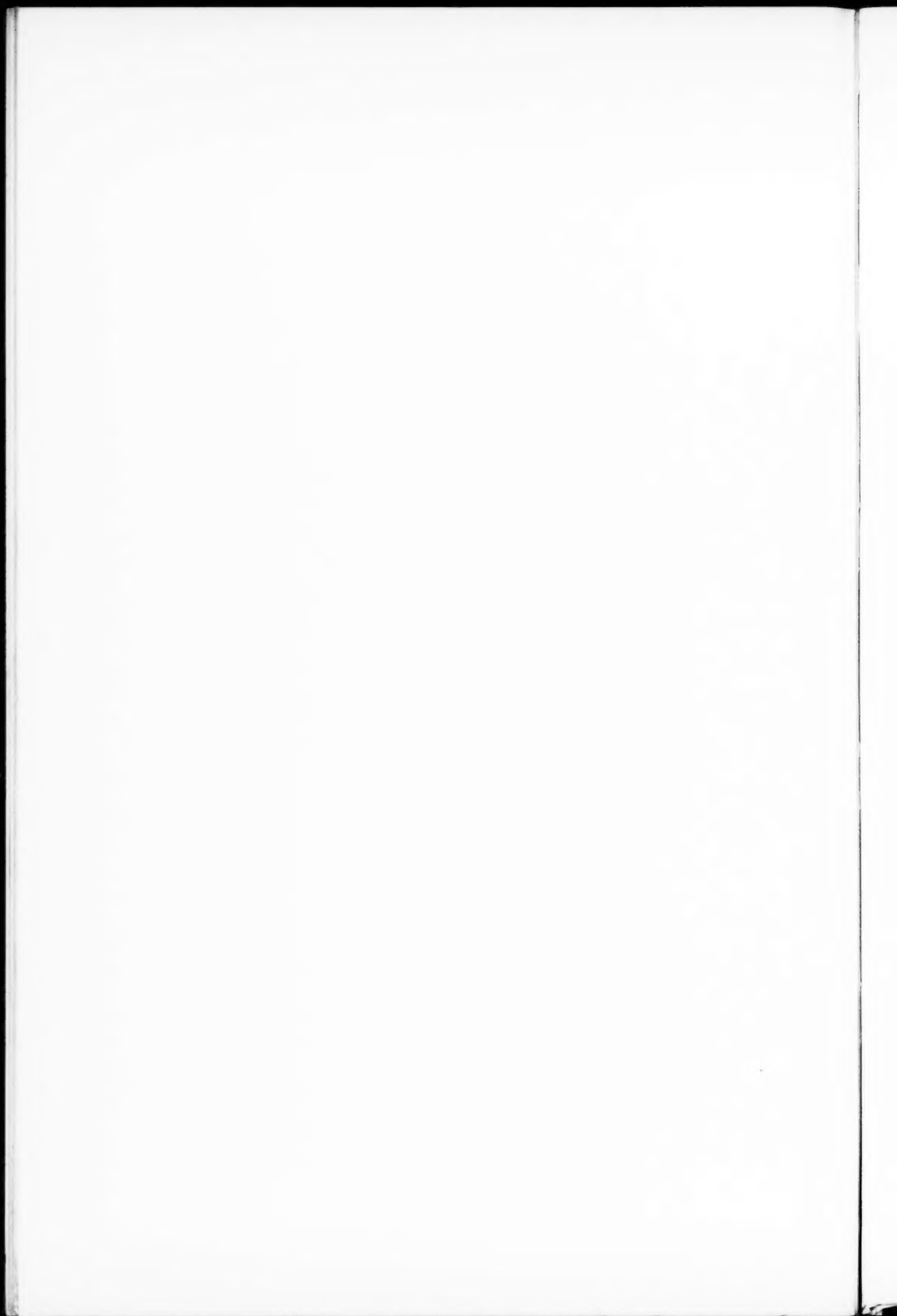
6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the polling place provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period during which said polling place is officially open. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference, to be open for at least four hours, at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired, the ballots shall be counted by a committee of three tellers appointed by the President, and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by majority vote of the ballots cast.

9. The Nominating Committee appointed for the Conference year 1931-32 shall prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1932, which election shall be conducted as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws as of June 1, 1931. They shall also prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1933, which election shall be conducted as provided in sections 1-9, above.

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